

Bg. o. $\frac{114}{3}$.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum.

Ille se profecisse sciat, cui CICERO valde placebit.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

S E C T. IX.

CICERO was present at the death of Cæsar in the Senate ; where he had the pleasure, he tells us, to see the tyrant perish as he deserved¹. By this accident he was freed at once from all subjection to a superior, and all the uneasiness and indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppress him. He was now without competition the first Citizen in Rome ; the first in that credit and authority both with the Senate and People, which illustrious merit and services will necessarily give in a free City. The Conspirators considered him as such, and reckoned upon him as their sure friend : for they had no sooner finished their work, than Brutus, lifting up his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to congratulate with him on the recovery of their liberty² : and when they all

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.

Coff

M. ANTONI
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

ran out presently after into the Forum , with their daggers in their hands , proclaiming liberty to the City , they proclaimed at the same time the name of Cicero ; in hopes to recommend the justice of their act , by the credit of his approbation ³.

This gave Antony a pretence to charge him afterwards in public , with being privy to the conspiracy , and the principal adviser of it ⁴ : but it is certain , that he was not at all acquainted with it : for though he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors , and they the greatest confidence in him , yet his age , character , and dignity , rendered him wholly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of that nature ; and to embark himself in an affair so desperate , with a number of men , who , excepting a few of their Leaders , were all either too young to be trusted , or too obscure , even to be known by him ⁵. He could have been of little or no service to them in the execution of the act , yet of much greater in justifying it afterwards to the City , for having had no share in it , nor any personal interest , to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons without doubt , why Brutus and Cassius did not impart the design to him : had it been from any other motive , as some writers have suggested , or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honor , he must have been often reproached with it by Antony , and his other adversaries of those times , who were so studious to invent and propagate every calumny that could

depress his credit. I cannot however entirely acquit him of being in some degree accessory to the death of Cæsar : for it is evident from several of his letters , that he had an expectation of such an attempt , and from what quarter it would come ; and not only expected , but wished it : he prophesied very early , that Cæsar's reign could not last six months , but must necessarily fall , either by violence , or of itself ; and hoped to live to see it ' : he knew the disaffection of the greatest and best of the City ; which they expressed with great freedom in their Letters , and with much more , we may imagine , in their private conversation : he knew the fierce and haughty spirit of Brutus and Cassius , and their impatience of a Master ; and cultivated a strict Correspondence with them both at this time , as if for the opportunity of exciting them to some act of vigor. On the news , that Atticus sent him , of Cæsar's image being placed in the Temple of Quirinus , adjoining to that of the Goddess Salus ; I had rather , says he , have him the Comrade of Romulus , than of the Goddess Safety ' : referring to Romulus's fate , of being killed in the Senate. In another Letter it seems to be intimated , that Atticus and he had been contriving , or talking at least together , how Brutus might be spirited up to some attempt of that kind , by setting before him the fame and glory of his Ancestors : " Does Brutus then tell " us " , says he , " that Cæsar brings with him glad " tidings to honest men ? where will he find them ? " unless he hangs himself. But how securely is

“ he now intrenched on all sides ? What use then
“ of your fine invention ; the picture of old Brutus
“ and Ahala with the verses under, which I saw
“ in your Gallery ? Yet what after all can he
“ do ? ” One cannot help observing likewise,
in his Pieces , addressed about this time to
Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation
of the times , and of the particular unhappiness
of Brutus himself , in being deprived by them
of all the hopes and use of his great talents ;
putting him in mind at the same time of his
double descent from Ancestors, who had acquired
immortal glory by delivering Rome from servi-
tude. Thus he concludes his treatise on famous
Orators.

“ When I look upon you , Brutus, I am
“ grieved to see your youth running, as it were,
“ in full career through the midst of glory,
“ stopp’d short by the wretched fate of your
“ Country. This grief sits heavy upon me, and
“ on our common friend Atticus , the partner of
“ my affection , and good opinion of you : we
“ heartily wish you well ; wish to see you reap
“ the fruit of your virtue : and to live in a
“ Republic , that may give you the opportunity,
“ not only to revive , but to increase the honor
“ and memory of the two noble families , from
“ which you descend — for the Forum was
“ wholly yours ; yours all that course of glory :
“ you , of all the young pleaders, brought thither,
“ not only a tongue , ready formed by the
“ exercise of speaking, but had enriched your

“ Oratory by the furniture also of the severer
“ arts; and by the help of the same arts had
“ joined to a perfection of eloquence the
“ ornament of every virtue. We are doubly
“ sorry therefore on your account, that you
“ want the benefit of the Republic; the Republic
“ of you: but though this odious ruin of
“ the City extinguishes the use of your abilities,
“ go on still, Brutus, to pursue your usual
“ studies, &c. ”

These passages seem to give a reasonable ground to believe, that Cicero, though a stranger to the particular counsels of the Conspirators, had yet a general notion of their design, as well as some share in promoting it. In his reply to Antony's charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honor, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it; he calls it, “ the
“ most glorious act, which had ever been done,
“ not only in that, but in any other City, in
“ which men were more forward to claim a share,
“ which they had not, than to dissemble that
“ which they had; that Brutus's reason for calling
“ out upon him, was to signify, that he was
“ then emulating his praises, by an act, not
“ unlike to what he had done: that if to wish
“ Cæsar's death was a crime, to rejoice at it was
“ the same; there being no difference between
“ the adviser and the approver; yet excepting
“ Antony and a few more, who were fond of
“ having a King, that there was not a man in

“ Rome , who did not desire to see the fact
“ committed ; that all honest men , as far as it
“ was in their power, concurred in it ; that some
“ indeed wanted the counsel , some the courage ,
“ some the opportunity , but none the will to
“ do it , &c. ”

The news of this surprising fact raised a general consternation through the City : so that the first care of the Conspirators was to quiet the minds of the People , by proclaiming peace and liberty to all , and declaring , that no farther violence was intended to any. They marched out therefore in a body ; with a Cap as the ensign of liberty , carried before them on a Spear ¹⁰ ; and in a calm and orderly manner proceeded through the Forum ; where , in the first heat of joy for the death of the Tyrant , several of the young Nobility , who had born no part in the conspiracy , joined themselves to the company with swords in their hands , out of an ambition to be thought partners in the act ; but they paid dear afterwards for that vanity , and without any share of the glory , were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the rest. Brutus designed to have spoken to the Citizens from the Rostra ; but perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to speeches , and being uncertain what way the popular humor might turn , and knowing that there were great numbers of Cæsar's old soldiers in the City , who had been summoned from all parts to attend him to the Parthian war , he thought proper , with his Accomplices , under the guard

of Decimus's Gladiators, to take refuge in the Capitol¹¹. Being here secured from any immediate violence, he summoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a speech to them, which he had prepared, justified his act, and explained the motives of it, and in a pathetic manner exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, against all the abettors of the late tyranny. Cicero presently followed them into the Capitol, with the best and greatest part of the Senate, to deliberate on the proper means of improving this hopeful beginning, and establishing their liberty on a solid and lasting foundation.

Antony in the mean while, shocked by the hardness of the act, and apprehending some danger to his own life, stripped himself of his consular robes, and fled home in disguise; where he began to fortify his house, and kept himself close all that day¹²; till perceiving the pacific conduct of the conspirators, he recovered his spirits, and appeared again the next morning in public.

While things were in this situation, L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the Prætors, who was nearly allied to Cæsar, made a speech to the people in praise of the conspirators; extolling their act as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the Capitol, and reward them with the honors due to the deliverers of their country; then throwing off his Prætorian robe, he declared, that he would not wear it any longer, as being bestowed upon him by

a Tyrant, and not by the laws. But the next day, as he was going to the Senate, some of Cæsar's Veteran soldiers; having gathered a mob of the same party, attacked him in the streets with volleys of stones, and drove him into a house, which they were going presently to set on fire, with design to have burnt him in it, if Lepidus had not come to his rescue with a body of regular troops¹³.

Lepidus was at this time in the suburbs of Rome, at the head of an army, ready to depart for the government of Spain, which had been assigned to him by Cæsar, with a part of Gaul. In the night therefore, after Cæsar's death, he filled the Forum with his troops, and finding himself superior to any man in power, began to think of making himself master of the City, and taking immediate revenge on the Conspirators: but being a weak and vain man, Antony easily diverted him from that design, and managed him to his own views: "He represented the hazard
" and difficulty of the attempt, while the Senate,
" the City, and all Italy were against them:
" that the only way to effect what they wished,
" was to dissemble their real purpose; to recommend
" pacific counsels, and lull their adversaries
" asleep, till they had provided a strength
" sufficient to oppress them; and that, as soon
" as things were ripe, he would join with him
" very heartily in avenging Cæsar's death." —
With these remonstrances he pacified him; and to render the union the firmer, and to humor

his vanity at the same time, gave his Daughter in marriage to Lepidus's Son, and assisted him to seize the High Priesthood, vacant by Cæsar's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election¹⁴. Having thus gained Lepidus into his measures, he made use of his authority and his forces, to harass and terrify the opposite party, till he had driven the Conspirators out of the City: and when he had served his purposes with him at home, contrived to send him to his government, to keep the Provinces and the Commanders abroad in proper respect to them; and that, by sitting down with his army in the nearest part of Gaul, he might be ready for any event, which should require his help in Italy.

The Conspirators in the mean while had formed no scheme, beyond the Death of Cæsar; but seemed to be as much surprised and amazed at what they had done, as the rest of the City: they trusted entirely to the integrity of their cause; fancying, that it would be sufficient of itself to effect all that they expected from it, and draw an universal concurrence to the defence of their common liberty; and taking it for granted, that Cæsar's fate, in the height of all his greatness, would deter any of his Partisans from aiming at the same power: they placed withal a great confidence in Cicero's authority, of which they assured themselves as their own, and were not disappointed; for from this moment he resolved at all adventures to support the credit of the men, and their act, as the only means left

of recovering the Republic. He knew, that the people were all on their side; and, as long as force was removed, that they were masters of the City: his advice therefore was, to use their present advantage, and in the consternation of Cæsar's party, and the zeal and union of their own, that Brutus and Cassius, as Prætors, should call the Senate into the Capitol, and proceed to some vigorous decrees, for the security of the public tranquillity¹⁵. But Brutus was for marching calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the Consul; and having conceived hopes of Antony, proposed the sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace: Cicero remonstrated against it; nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it; he told them plainly, "that there could be no safe treaty with him; "that as long as he was afraid of them, he "would promise every thing; but when his "fears were over, would be like himself, and "perform nothing: so that while the other consular Senators were going forwards and backwards in this office of mediation, he stuck to "his point, and staid with the rest in the Capitol, and did not see Antony for the two "first days¹⁶."

The event confirmed what Cicero foretold: Antony had no thoughts of peace or of any good to the republic: his sole view was, to seize the government to himself, as soon as he should be in condition to do it; and then, on pretence of revenging Cæsar's death, to destroy all those,

who were likely to oppose him: as his business therefore was, to gain time by dissembling and deceiving the Republican Party into a good opinion of him; so all his answers were mild and moderate; professing a sincere inclination to peace, and no other desire, than to see the Republic settled again on its old basis. Two days passed in mutual assurances from both sides, of their disposition to concord and amity; and Antony summoned the Senate on the third, to adjust the conditions of it, and confirm them by some solemn act. Here Cicero as the best foundation of a lasting quiet, moved the assembly in the first place, after the example of Athens, to decree a general amnesty, or act of oblivion, for all that was passed; to which they unanimously agreed. Antony seemed to be all goodness; talked of nothing, but healing measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity, moved, that the Conspirators should be invited, to take part in their deliberations, and sent his Son as an Hostage for their safety: upon which they all came down from the Capitol; and Brutus supped with Lepidus; Cassius with Antony; and the day ended to the universal joy of the city, who imagined, that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace¹⁷.

There were several things, however, very artfully proposed and carried by Antony, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a most pernicious use; particularly, a decree for the confirmation of all Cæsar's

acts; this motion was suspected by many, who stuck upon it for some time, and called upon Antony to explain it, and specify how far it was to extend: he assured them, “that no other
“acts were meant, than what were known to
“every body; and entered publicly on Cæsar’s
“register: they asked, if any persons were to
“be restored from exile; he said, one only
“and no more: whether any immunities were
“granted to Cities or countries: he answered,
“none; and consented, that it should pass with
“a restriction, proposed by Ser. Sulpicius; that
“no grant, which was to take place after the
“Ides of March, should be ratified¹⁸:” this was generally thought so reasonable, and Antony’s seeming candor had made such an impression, that those who saw the mischief of it, durst not venture to oppose it: especially as there was a precedent for it in the case of Sylla; and as it was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran soldiers, whom it was not possible to oblige, or keep in good humor, without confirming the privileges and possessions, which Cæsar had granted to them. But Brutus and his friends had private reasons for entertaining a better opinion of Antony, than his outward conduct would justify: Cæsar had used him roughly on several occasions¹⁹; and they knew his resentment of it; and that he had been engaged with Trebonius, on Cæsar’s last return from Spain, in a design against his life: and though he did not perform that engagement, yet they thought

it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the same mind, that he had not discovered it: which was the reason of their sparing him, when Cæsar was killed, and of Trebonius's taking him aside, on pretence of business, lest his behaviour on that occasion might provoke them to kill him too²⁰.

But, as Cicero often laments, they had already ruined their cause, by giving Antony leisure to recollect himself, and gather troops about him, by which he forced upon them several other decrees against their will; one of them in favor of the veteran soldiers, whom he had drawn up for that purpose in arms about the Senate²¹; and another still worse, for the allowance of a public funeral to Cæsar, which Atticus had been remonstrating against both to Cicero and Brutus as pernicious to the peace of the City: but it was too late to prevent it; Antony was resolved upon it; and had provided all things for it, as the best opportunity of inflaming the soldiers and the populace, and raising some commotions to the disadvantage of the Republican cause; in which he succeeded so well, that Brutus and Cassius had no small difficulty to defend their lives and houses from the violence of his mob²². In this tumult, Helvius Cinna, one of the Tribunes, and a particular friend of Cæsar, was torn in pieces by the rabble; being mistaken unluckily for the Prætor of that name, who, as it is said above, had extolled the act of killing Cæsar in a speech from the Rostra:

this so alarmed all those, who had any similitude of name with any of the Conspirators, that Caius Casca, another Senator, thought fit by a public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his person and principles from Publius Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar²³.

We are not to imagine, however, as it is commonly believed, that these violences were owing to the general indignation of the Citizens, against the murderers of Cæsar; excited either by the spectacle of his body, or the eloquence of Antony, who made the funeral oration: for it is certain, that Cæsar, through his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public signification of their favor; but, on the contrary, was constantly mortified, by the perpetual demonstrations of their hatred and disaffection to him. The case was the same after his death: the memory of his tyranny was odious, and Brutus and Cassius the real favorites of the City: as appeared on all occasions, wherever their free and genuine sense could be declared, in the public Shows and Theatres²⁴; which Cicero frequently appeals to, as a proper encouragement to all honest men, to act with spirit and vigor, in the defence of their common liberty. What happened therefore at the funeral was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greatest part slaves and strangers, lifted and prepared for violence, against a party unarmed, and pursuing pacific counsels, and placing all their trust and

security in the justice of their cause. Cicero calls it a Conspiracy of Cæsar's freedmen ²⁵, who were the chief managers of the tumult: in which the Jews seem to have born a considerable part; who, out of hatred to Pompey, for his affront to their City and Temple, were zealously attached to Cæsar, and, above all the other Foreigners in Rome, distinguished themselves, by the expressions of their grief for his death; so as to spend whole nights at his monument, in a kind of religious devotion to his memory ²⁶.

This first taste of Antony's perfidy was a clear warning to the Conspirators, what little reason they had to depend upon him; or to expect any safety in the City, where he had the sovereign command, without a guard for their defence; which, though D. Brutus demanded for them, they could not obtain: whilst Antony, to alarm them still the more, took care to let them know, that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe ²⁷. They all therefore quitted Rome: Trebonius stole away privately for Asia, to take possession of that province, which had before been assigned to him; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of Antony: D. Brutus, for the same reason, possessed himself of the Cisalpine or Italic Gaul, which had been conferred upon him likewise by Cæsar in order to strengthen himself there against all events, and by his neighbourhood to Rome, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty: M. Brutus, accom-

panied by Cassius, retired to one of his villas near Lanuvium, to deliberate about their future conduct and to take such measures as the accidents of the times and the motions of their enemies should make necessary.

But as soon as the Conspirators were gone, Antony resumed his Mask, and as if the late violences had been accidental only, and the sudden transport of a vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect of Brutus and Cassius; and by several seasonable acts, proposed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing so much at heart, as the public concord: among other decrees he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, to abolish for ever the name and office of Dictator: this seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an universal satisfaction to the Senate; who passed it, as it were, by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to Antony, who, as Cicero afterwards told him, had fixed an indelible infamy by it on Cæsar, in declaring to the world, that for the odium of his government, such a decree was become both necessary and popular ²⁸.

Cicero also left Rome soon after Brutus and Cassius ²⁹, not a little mortified to see things take so wrong a turn, by the indolence of their friends; which gave him frequent occasion to say, that the Ides of March had produced nothing, which pleased him, but the fact of the day, which
was

was executed indeed with manly vigor, but supported by childish counsels³⁰. As he passed through the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the great Towns, on the account of Cæsar's death: "it is impossible to express," says he, "what joy there is every where: how
"all people flock about me: how greedy they
"are to hear an account of it from me: yet
"what strange politics do we pursue? What a
"solecism do we commit? To be afraid of
"those, whom we have subdued; to defend
"his acts, for whose death we rejoice; to suffer
"Tyranny to live, when the Tyrant is killed;
"and the Republic to be lost, when our liberty
"is recovered³¹."

Atticus sent him word of some remarkable applause, which was given to the famed Comedian, Publius, for what he had said upon the stage, in favor of the public liberty; and that L. Cassius, the Brother of the Conspirator, then one of the Tribunes, was received with infinite acclamations upon his entrance into the Theatre³²: which convinced him only the more of the mistake of their friends in sitting still, and trusting to the merit of their cause, while their enemies were using all arts to destroy them. This general inclination, which declared itself so freely on the side of liberty, obliged Antony to act with caution, and as far as possible, to persuade the City, that he was on the same side too: for which end he did another thing at this time both prudent and popular, in putting to death the Impostor Marius,

who was now returned to Rome, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinsman Cæsar: where signalizing himself at the head of the mob, he was the chief Incendiary at the Funeral, and the subsequent riots, and threatened nothing less than destruction to the whole Senate: but Antony, having served his main purpose with him, of driving Brutus and the rest out of the City, ordered him to be seized and strangled, and his body to be dragged through the Streets³³: which gave him fresh credit with the Republicans; so that Brutus, together with Cassius and other friends, had a personal conference with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction³⁴.

By these arts Antony hoped to amuse the Conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous counsels; especially, what he most apprehended, that of leaving Italy, and seizing some provinces abroad, furnished with troops and money; which might put them into a condition to act offensively: with the same view he wrote an artful Letter to Cicero, to desire his consent to the restoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been several years in banishment for outrages committed in the City; chiefly against Cicero himself, on whose account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the Tutor of young Publius, her son; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. He assures Cicero, “that he had procured a pardon for S. Clodius

“ from Cæsar ; but did not intend to have made
“ use of it, till he had obtained his consent ; and
“ though he thought himself now obliged to sup-
“ port all Cæsar’s acts ; yet he would not insist on
“ this against his leave — that it would be an
“ obligation to young Publius, a youth of the
“ greatest hopes, to let him see, that Cicero did
“ not extend his revenge to his Father’s Friends
“ — permit me,” says he, “ to instil these sen-
“ timents into the boy ; and to persuade his tender
“ mind, that quarrels are not to be perpetuated
“ in families : and though your condition, I
“ know, is superior to all danger ; yet you will
“ chuse, I fancy, to enjoy a quiet and honorable,
“ rather than a turbulent old age — lastly, I have
“ a sort of right to ask this favor of you ; since I
“ never refused any thing to you : if I do not,
“ however, prevail with you, I will not grant it
“ to Clodius ; that you may see how great your
“ authority is with me : show yourself the more
“ placable on that account³⁵.”

Cicero never hesitated about giving his consent,
to what Antony could and would have done with-
out it : “ the thing itself, he knew, was scandal-
“ ous ; and the pardon said to be granted by
“ Cæsar, a forgery ; and that Cæsar would never
“ have done it, or suffered it to be done ; and so
“ many forgeries of that kind began to be pub-
“ lished every day from Cæsar’s books, that he
“ was almost tempted,” he says, “ to wish for
“ Cæsar again³⁶.” He answered him, however, with
great civility ; and in a strain of complaisance,

which corresponded but little with his real opinion of the Man : but Antony's public behaviour had merited some compliments : and under the present state of his power, and the uncertain condition of their own party, Cicero resolved to observe all the forms of an old acquaintance with him ; till by some overt act against the public interest, he should be forced to consider him as an enemy³⁷.

Antony made him but a cold reply ; having heard perhaps, in the mean time, of something which did not please him in his conduct. He told him only, that his easiness and clemency were agreeable to him, and might hereafter be a great pleasure to himself³⁸.

Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, was in Rome, when Cæsar was killed ; but being terrified by that accident, and the subsequent disorders of the City, she ran away presently with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with Cæsar, in whose house she was lodged, made her insolence intolerable to the Romans ; whom she seems to have treated on the same foot with her own Egyptians ; as the subjects of absolute power, and the slaves of a master, whom she commanded. Cicero had a conference with her in Cæsar's gardens ; where the haughtiness of her behaviour gave him no small offence. Knowing his taste and character, she made him the promise of some present, very agreeable, but disobligeed him the more by not performing it : he does not tell us what it was ; but from the hints which he drops, it seems to have been statues or curiosities from Egypt, for

the ornament of his Library ; a sort of furniture , which he was peculiarly fond of. But her pride being mortified by Cæsar's fate , she was now forced to apply to him by her Ministers for his assistance in a particular suit , that she was recommending to the Senate , in which he refused to be concerned. The affair seems to have related to her Infant Son , whom she pretended to be Cæsar's , and called by his name ; and was laboring to get him acknowledged as such at Rome , and declared the Heir of her Kingdom ; as he was the year following , both by Antony and Octavius ; though Cæsar's friends were generally scandalized at it , and Oppius thought it worth while to write a book , to prove , that the child could not be Cæsar's ". Cleopatra had been waiting to accompany Cæsar into the East , in order to preserve her influence over him , which was very great : for after his death , Helvius Cinna , one of the Tribunes , owned , that he had a law ready prepared and delivered to him by Cæsar , with orders to publish it , as soon as he was gone , for granting to him the liberty of taking what number of wives , and of what condition he thought fit , for the sake of propagating children *. This was contrived probably to save Cleopatra's honor , and to legitimate his issue by her ; since poligamy , and the marriage of a stranger , were prohibited by the laws of Rome.

Cicero touches these particulars in several places , though darkly and abruptly , according to the style of his Letters to Atticus. " The flight of

“ the Queen,” says he, “ gives me no pain. I
“ should be glad to hear, what farther news
“ there is of her and her young Cæsar. I hate
“ the Queen : her Agent, Ammonius, the wit-
“ nefs and fponsor of her promises to me, knows
“ that I have reason : they were things only
“ proper for a man of letters, and fuitable to
“ my character ; fo that I should not fcruple to
“ proclaim them from the Roftra. Her other
“ Agent, Sara, is not only a rafcal, but has been
“ rude to me. I never faw him at my Houfe but
“ once ; and when I asked him civilly, what
“ commands he had for me, he faid, that he came to
“ look for Atticus. As to the pride of the Queen,
“ when I faw her in the Gardens, I can never think
“ of it without refentment : I will have nothing
“ therefore to do with them : they take me to
“ have neither fpirit, nor even feeling left “.”

Antony having put his affairs into the beft train that he could, and appointed the firft of June for a meeting of the Senate, in order to deliberate on the ftate of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progrefs through Italy, for the fake of vifiting the quarters of the veteran foldiers, and engaging them to his fervice, by all forts of bribes and promises. He left the government of the City to Dolabella, whom Cæfar, upon his intended expedition to Parthia, had defigned and nominated to the Confulship : and though Antony had protested againft that designation, and refolved to obftruct its effect, yet after Cæfar’s death, when Dolabella,

by the advantage of the general confusion, seized the ensigns of the office, and assumed the habit and character of the consul, Antony quietly received, and acknowledged him as such at the next meeting of the Senate⁴².

Cicero had always kept up a fair correspondence with his son-in-law, though he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles: but he had now greater reason than ever for insinuating himself, as far as he was able, into his confidence; in order to engage him, if possible, to the interests of the Republic, and use him as a check upon the designs of his colleague Antony; in which he had the greater prospect of success, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. Dolabella greatly confirmed these hopes; and as soon as Antony had left the City, made all honest men think themselves sure of him, by exercising a most severe, as well as seasonable act of discipline, upon the disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob, headed by the Impostor Marius, and the freedmen of Cæsar, had erected an altar in the Forum, on the spot where Cæsar's body was burnt; with a Pillar of Numidian Marble, twenty feet high, inscribed to the Father of his country. Here they performed daily sacrifices and divine rites; and the humor of worshipping at this new altar began to spread itself so fast among the meaner sort, and the slaves, as to endanger the peace and safety of the City: for the multitudes which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthusiastic rage, ran furious about the streets

committing all sorts of outrage and violence against the supposed friends of liberty. But Dolabella put an end to the evil at once, by demolishing the Pillar and the Altar, and seizing the authors of the disorders; and causing such of them, as were free, to be thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, and the slaves to be crucified. This gave an universal joy to the City: the whole body of the people attended the Consul to his house; and in the Theatres gave him the usual testimony of their thanks, by the loudest acclamations⁴³.

Cicero was infinitely pleased with this act, and enjoyed some share of the praise, since it was generally imputed to the influence of his counsels: in a Letter upon it to Atticus; "O my admirable
" Dolabella!" says he, "I now call him mine;
" for, believe me, I had some doubt of him
" before: the fact affords matter of great specula-
" tion: to throw them down the Rock; to
" crucify; demolish the Pillar; pave the area;
" in short, it is heroic. He has extinguished all
" appearance of that regret for Cæsar, which was
" spreading every day so fast, that I began to
" apprehend some danger to our Tyrant-killers:
" but I now agree with you, and conceive better
" hopes, &c."⁴⁴ Again; "O the brave act of
" Dolabella, what a prospect does it give us? I
" never cease praising and exhorting him — our
" Brutus, I dare say, might now walk safely
" through the Forum, with a crown of gold upon
" his head: for who dares molest him, when the
" rock or the cross is to be their fate? and when

“ the very lowest of the people give such proofs
“ of their applause and approbation “ ? ” He wrote
at the same time from Baiæ the following Letter
to Dolabella himself.

Cicero to Dolabella Consul.

“ Though I was content, my Dolabella, with
“ your glory, and reaped a sufficiency of pleasure
“ from it; yet I cannot but own, that it gives
“ me an inexpressible joy, to find the world
“ ascribing to me also some share in your praises.
“ I have met with no body here, though I see
“ so much company every day (for there are
“ many worthy men now at this place for the
“ sake of their health, and many of my ac-
“ quaintance from the great towns) who, after
“ extolling you to the skies, does not give
“ thanks presently to me; not doubting, as
“ they all say, but it is by my precepts and ad-
“ vice, that you now show yourself to be this
“ admirable Citizen, and singular Consul; and
“ though I could assure them with great truth
“ that what you are doing flows wholly from
“ yourself and your own judgment, and that
“ you want not the advice of any one; yet I
“ neither wholly assent, lest I should derogate
“ from your merit, by making it seem to
“ proceed from my counsel; nor do I strongly
“ deny it, being myself perhaps more greedy of
“ glory, than I ought to be. But that can ne-
“ ver be a diminution to you, which was an

“ honor even to Agamemnon , the King of
“ Kings , to have a Nestor for his counsellor ;
“ while it will be glorious to me , to see a young
“ Consul , the scholar , as it were , of my disci-
“ pline , flourishing in the midst of applause.
“ L. Cæsar , when I visited him lately sick at
“ Naples , though oppressed with pain in every
“ part of his body , yet before he had even sa-
“ luted me , could not forbear crying out , O
“ my Cicero ! I congratulate with you on ac-
“ count of the authority , which you have with
“ Dolabella ; for if I had the same credit with
“ my Sister’s Son , Antony , we should all now
“ be safe ; but as to your Dolabella , I both
“ congratulate with him , and thank him ; since
“ from the time of your Consulship , he is the
“ only one , whom we can truly call a Consul :
“ he then enlarged upon your act , and the man-
“ ner of it ; and declared , that nothing was
“ ever greater , nothing nobler , nothing more
“ salutary to the state ; and this indeed is the
“ common voice of all. Allow me therefore ,
“ I beg of you , to take some share , though it be
“ a false one , in the possession of another man’s
“ glory ; and admit me in some degree into a
“ partnership of your praises. But to be serious ,
“ my Dolabella , for hitherto I have been jo-
“ king , I would sooner transfer all the credit
“ that I have to you , if I really have any , than
“ rob you of any part of yours : for as I have
“ always had that sincere affection for you , to
“ which you have been no stranger ; so now I

“ am so charmed by your late conduct, that no
“ love was ever more ardent. For, believe
“ me, there is nothing after all more engaging,
“ nothing more beautiful, nothing more love-
“ ly than virtue. I have ever loved M. Brutus,
“ you know, for his incomparable parts, sweet
“ disposition, singular probity, and firmness of
“ mind: yet on the Ides of March, such an ac-
“ cession was made to my love, that I was sur-
“ prised to find any room for increase in that,
“ which I had long ago taken to be full and
“ perfect. Who could have thought it possi-
“ ble, that any addition could be made to my
“ love of you? Yet so much has been added,
“ that I seem but now at last to love, before
“ to have only esteemed you. What is it there-
“ fore that I must now exhort you to? Is it to
“ pursue the path of dignity and glory? And
“ as those do, who use to exhort, shall I pro-
“ pose to you the examples of eminent men?
“ I can think of none more eminent than your-
“ self. You must imitate therefore yourself; con-
“ tend with yourself; for after such great things
“ done, it would be a disgrace to you not to
“ be like yourself. Since this then is the case,
“ there is no occasion to exhort, but to congra-
“ tulate with you: for that has happened to you,
“ which scarce ever happened to any man, that
“ by the utmost severity of punishing, instead of
“ acquiring odium, you are become popular;
“ and not only with the better sort; but the
“ very meanest of the City. If this was owing

“ to fortune, I should congratulate your felicity; but it was owing to the greatness of your courage, as well as of your parts and wisdom. For I have read your speech to the people: nothing was ever more prudent: you enter so deliberately and gradually into the reason of your act, and retire from it so artfully, that the case itself, in the opinion of all, appears to be ripe for punishment. You have freed us therefore both from our danger and our fears, and have done an act of the greatest service, not only to the present times, but for the example of it also to posterity. You are to consider, that the Republic now rests upon your shoulders; and that it is your part, not only to protect, but to adorn those men, from whom we have received this beginning of our liberty: but of this we shall talk more fully when we meet again, as I hope we shall shortly: in the mean while, since you are now the common guardian both of the Republic and of us all, take care, my dear Dolabella, that you guard more especially your own safety “.”

In this retreat from Rome he had a mind to make an excursion to Greece, and pay a visit to his Son at Athens, whose conduct did not please him, and seemed to require his presence to reform and set it right “.” But the news of Dolabella’s behaviour, and the hopes which it gave of gaining the only thing that was wanted, a Head and Leader of their cause, armed with the authority

of the state, made him resolve to stay at least till after the first of June, lest his absence should be interpreted as a kind of desertion: nor did he ever intend indeed to leave Italy, till he could do it without censures, and to the full satisfaction of Brutus, whom he was determined never to desert on any occasion *.

He had frequent meetings and conferences all this while with his old friends of the opposite party; the late Ministers of Cæsar's power; Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Matius, &c. But Cæsar's death, on which their sentiments were very different from his, had in great measure broken their former confidence; and though the popularity of the act made them somewhat shy of speaking their minds freely about it, yet he easily perceived that they were utterly displeased with it, and seemed to want an occasion of revenging it. Pansa and Hirtius, as has been said, were nominated by Cæsar to the consulship of the next year; and as Cæsar's acts were ratified by the Senate, were to succeed to it of course. This made Brutus and Cassius press Cicero earnestly to gain them, if possible, to the Republican side, but especially Hirtius, whom they most suspected. But Cicero seems to have had little hopes of success; his account of them to Atticus is, "That there was not one of them who
" did not dread peace more than war; that they
" were perpetually lamenting the miserable end
" of so great a man; and declaring, that the
" Republic was ruined by it; that all his acts
" would be made void, as soon as people's fears

“ were over; and that clemency was his ruin;
“ since, if it had not been for that, he could
“ not have perished in such a manner: „ and of
Hirtius in particular; “ he warmly loves him ,”
says he, “ whom Brutus stabbed: as to their
“ desiring me to make him better, I am doing
“ my endeavour: he talks very honestly, but
“ lives with Balbus; who talks honestly too: how
“ far they are to be trusted, you must confi-
“ der “. ”

But of all this set of men, Matius was the most open and explicit, in condemning the act of the Conspirators, so as to put Cicero out of humor with him, as a man irreconcilable to the liberty of the Republic. Cicero called upon him on his way from Rome into the Country, and found him fullen, desponding, and foreboding nothing but wars and desolation, as the certain consequence of Cæsar's death. Among other particulars of their conversation, Matius told him something which Cæsar had lately said both of him and Brutus, that he used to say of Brutus, “ it was of great
“ consequence which way he stood inclined, since
“ whatever he had a mind to, he pursued with
“ an impetuous eagerness: that he had remarked
“ this of him more especially, in his pleading for
“ Deiotarus at Nicæa; where he spoke with a
“ surprising vehemence and freedom : ” and of Cicero, “ that when he was attending Cæsar, in
“ the cause of Sestius, Cæsar perceiving him sitting
“ in the room, and waiting till he was called,
“ said; Can I doubt of my being extremely odious,

“ when Cicero sits waiting, and cannot get access
“ to me: yet if any man be easy enough to
“ forgive it, it is he; though I do not question,
“ but that he really hates me⁵⁰. ”

There were several reasons, however, which made it necessary to these men, to court Cicero at this time as much as ever: for if the Republic happened to recover itself, he was of all men the most capable to protect them on that side: if not, the most able to assist them against Antony, whose designs and success they dreaded still more: for if they must have a new master, they were disposed, for the sake of Cæsar, to prefer his Heir and Nephew Octavius. We find Hirtius and Pansa therefore very assiduous in their observance of him: they spent a great part of the summer with him at different times in his villas, giving him the strongest assurances of their good intentions, and disposition to peace, and that he should be the Arbiter of their future Consulship: and though he continued still to have some distrust of Hirtius, yet Pansa wholly persuaded him, that he was sincere⁵¹.

Brutus and Cassius continued still near Lanuvium, in the neighbourhood of Cicero's Villa at Astura, of which, at Cicero's desire, they sometimes made use⁵²: being yet irresolute, what measures they should take; they kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer; and waiting particularly to see what humor the Consuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themselves and the Republic: and

since they were driven from the discharge of their Prætorship in the City, they contrived to put the people in mind of them from time to time by their edicts, in which they made the strongest professions of their pacific disposition, and declared, “ that their conduct should give no handle for a
“ civil war; and that they would submit to a
“ perpetual exile, if it would contribute in any
“ manner to the public concord, being content
“ with the consciousness of their act, as the greatest
“ honor which they could enjoy ”. Their present design was to come to Rome on the first of June, and take their places in the Senate, if it should be thought advisable; or to present themselves at least in the Rostra, and try the affections of the people, for whom Brutus was preparing a speech. They sent to know Cicero’s opinion of this project, with the copy also of that speech which Brutus made in the Capitol on the Day of Cæsar’s death, begging his revival and correction of it, in order to its being published. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, “ the Oration is drawn with
“ the utmost elegance both of sentiments and style;
“ yet were I to handle the subject, I should work
“ it up with more fire. You know the character
“ of the speaker: for which reason I could not
“ correct it. For in the style, in which our friend
“ would excel, and according to the Idea, which
“ he has formed of the best manner of speaking,
“ he has succeeded so well, that nothing can be
“ better: but whether I am in the right or the
“ wrong, I am of a quite different taste. I wish,
however,

“ however, that you would read it, if you have
“ not already, and let me know what you think
“ of it: though I am afraid, lest through the
“ prejudice of your name, you should show too
“ much of the Attic in your judgment: yet if you
“ remember the thunder of Demosthenes, you will
“ perceive that the greatest force may consist with
“ the perfection of Attic elegance “.”

Atticus did not like the speech, he thought the manner too cold and spiritless for so great an occasion; and begged of Cicero to draw up another to be published in Brutus's name: but Cicero would not consent to it, thinking the thing itself improper, and knowing, that Brutus would take it ill “”. In one of his Letters on the subject, “ Though you think me in the wrong, ” says he, “ to imagine, that the Republic depends
“ on Brutus, the fact is certainly so: there will
“ either be none at all, or it will be saved by
“ him and his accomplices. As to your urging me
“ to write a speech for him, take it from me,
“ my Atticus, as a general Rule, which by long
“ experience I have found to be true, that there
“ never was a Poet or Orator, who thought any
“ one preferable to himself: this is the case even
“ with bad ones: what shall we think then of
“ Brutus, who has both wit and learning? especially
“ after the late experiment of him, in the case of
“ the edict: I drew up one for him at your desire:
“ I liked mine; he his: besides, when at his earnest
“ solicitation I addressed to him my Treatise on
“ the best manner of speaking, he wrote word,

“ not only to me, but to you too, that the kind
“ of eloquence which I recommended, did not
“ please him. Let every one therefore compose for
“ himself — I wish only that it may be in his
“ power to make a speech at all; for if ever he
“ can appear again with safety at Rome, we have
“ gained the victory ”.

In this interval a new actor appeared on the stage, who, though hitherto but little considered, soon made the first figure upon it, and drew all people's eyes towards him, the young Octavius, who was left by his uncle Cæsar, the heir of his name and estate. He had been sent a few months before to Apollonia, a celebrated Academy, or school of learning in Macedonia, there to wait for his uncle on his way to the Parthian war, in which he was to attend him: but the news of Cæsar's death soon brought him back to Italy, to try what fortunes he could carve for himself, by the credit of his new name, and the help of his uncle's friends. He arrived at Naples on the eighteenth of April, whither Balbus went the next morning to receive him, and returned the same day to Cicero near Cumæ, having first conducted Octavius to the adjoining Villa of his Father-in-law Philip: Hirtius and Panfa were with Cicero at the same time, to whom they immediately presented Octavius with the strongest professions on the part of the young man, that he would be governed entirely by his direction ”.

The sole pretension, which he avowed at present, was to assert his right to the succession of his uncle's

estate, and to claim the possession of it: but this was thought an attempt too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, scarce yet above eighteen years old: for the Republican party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest with the inheritance of the Estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle; and Antony still more, who had destined that succession to himself, and already seized the effects, lest by the advantage of all that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head against him. The mother therefore and her husband Philip, out of concern for his safety, pressed him to suspend his claim for a while, and not assume an invidious name, before he could see what turn the public affairs would take: but he was of too great a spirit to relish any suggestions of caution; declaring it base and infamous to think himself unworthy of a name, of which Cæsar had thought him worthy⁸: and there were many about him constantly pushing him on, to throw himself upon the affections of the City, and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too strong for him; so that he was on fire to be at Rome, and to enter into action; being determined to risk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

Before he left the country, Cicero speaking of him to Atticus, says, "Octavius is still with us, and treats me with the greatest respect and friendship: his domestics give him the name of Cæsar: Philip does not; nor for that reason do I. It is not possible for him, in my opinion,

“ to make a good Citizen; there are so many
“ about him, who threaten the death of our
“ friends: they declare, that what they have
“ done can never be forgiven. What will be the
“ case, think you, when the boy comes to Rome,
“ where our deliverers cannot show their heads?
“ who yet must ever be famous, nay, happy too,
“ in the consciousness of their act: but as for us,
“ unless I am deceived, we shall be undone. I
“ long therefore to go abroad, where I may hear
“ no more of those Pelopidæ, &c. ”.

As soon as Octavius came to Rome, he was produced to the people by one of the Tribunes, and made a speech to them from the Rostra, which was now generally possessed by the enemies of Brutus, who were perpetually making use of the advantage, to inflame the mob against him: “ Remember,” says Cicero, “ what I tell you: this custom of seditious harangues is so much
“ cherished, that those Heroes of ours, or rather
“ Gods, will live indeed in immortal glory, yet
“ not without envy, and even danger: their great
“ comfort, however, is, the consciousness of a most
“ glorious act: but what comfort for us, who
“ when our King is killed, are not yet free? But
“ fortune must look to that, since reason has no
“ sway — ”.

Octavius seconded his speech, by what was like to please the inferior part of the City much better; the representation of public shows and plays in honor of his uncle's victories. Cæsar had promised and prepared for them in his life-

time ; but those whom he had intrusted with the management, durst not venture to exhibit them after his death, till Octavius, as his Heir and representative, undertook the affair, as devolved of course upon himself ⁶¹. In these shows Octavius brought out the Golden Chair, which among the other honors decreed to Cæsar when living, was ordered to be placed in the Theatres and Circus, as to a Deity, on all solemn occasions ⁶². But the Tribunes ordered the chair to be taken away, upon which the body of the Knights testified their applause by a general clap. Atticus sent an account of this to Cicero, which was very agreeable to him ⁶³: but he was not at all pleased with Octavius's conduct, since it indicated a spirit determined to revive the memory, and avenge the death of Cæsar: and he was the less pleased to hear also, that Matius had taken upon him the care of these shows ⁶⁴; since it confirmed the suspicion, which he had before conceived of Matius; and made him apprehensive, that he would be an ill Counsellor to young Octavius, in which light he seems to have represented him to Brutus. Matius was informed of these suspicions, and complained to their common friend Trebatius of Cicero's unkind opinion and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occasion to the following apology from Cicero, and the answer to it from Matius; which is deservedly valued, not only for the beauty of its sentiments and composition, but for preserving to us a name

and character; which was almost lost to History, of a most esteemed and amiable person, who lived in the first degree of confidence with Cæsar, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was scarce inferior to any of that age.

Cicero takes pains to persuade Matius, that he had said nothing of him, but what was consistent with the strictest friendship; and to gain the easier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgment of Matius's perpetual civilities, and observance of him through life, even when in the height of his power and credit with Cæsar: but when he comes to the point of the complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and observes only in general, " That
" as Matius's dignity exposed every thing which
" he did to public notice, so the malice of
" the world interpreted some of his acts more
" hardly than they deserved: that it was his
" care always to give the most favorable turn
" to them—but you, says he, a man of the
" greatest learning, are not ignorant; that if Cæsar
" was in fact a King, as I indeed look upon
" him to have been, there are two ways of
" considering the case of your duty: either that,
" which I commonly take, of extolling your fidelity and humanity, in showing so much affection
" even to a dead friend; or the other, which
" some people use; that the liberty of our Country ought to be preferred to the life of any
" friend. I wish that you had heard with what
" zeal I used to defend you in these conversations:

“ but there are two things especially, that make
“ the principal part of your praise, which no man
“ speaks of more frequently or more freely than I;
“ that you, of all Cæsar’s friends, were the
“ most active both in dissuading the civil war,
“ and in moderating the victory; in which I
“ have met with no body that does not agree
“ with me, &c. “.”

Matius to Cicero.

“ Your Letter gave me great pleasure, by
“ letting me see that you retain still that favor-
“ able opinion of me, which I had always hop-
“ ed and wished; and though I had never indeed
“ any doubt of it, yet for the high value that
“ I set upon it, I was very solicitous that it
“ should remain always inviolable: I was con-
“ scious to myself, that I had done nothing
“ which could reasonably give offence to any
“ honest man; and did not imagine therefore,
“ that a person of your great and excellent ac-
“ complishments could be induced to take any
“ without reason, especially against one, who
“ had always professed, and still continued to
“ profess, a sincere good-will to you. Since all
“ this then stands just as I wish it, I will now
“ give an answer to those accusations, from
“ which you, agreeably to your character, out
“ of your singular goodness and friendship, have
“ so often defended me. I am no stranger to
“ what has been said of me by certain persons,

“ since Cæsar’s death: they call it a crime in
“ me, that I am concerned for the loss of an
“ intimate friend, and sorry that the man whom
“ I loved met with so unhappy a fate: they
“ say, that our Country ought to be preferred
“ to any friendship, as if they had already made
“ it evident, that his death was of service to the
“ Republic: but I will not deal craftily: I own
“ myself not to be arrived at that degree of
“ wisdom; nor did I yet follow Cæsar in our
“ late dissensions, but my friend; whom though
“ displeased with the thing, I could not desert:
“ for I never approved the civil war, or the
“ cause of it; but took all possible pains to
“ stifle it in its birth. Upon the victory there-
“ fore of a familiar friend, I was not eager ei-
“ ther to advance, or to enrich myself: an ad-
“ vantage, which others, who had less interest
“ with him than I, abused to great excess. Nay,
“ my circumstances were even hurt by Cæsar’s
“ law, to whose kindness the greatest part of
“ those, who now rejoice at his death, owed
“ their very continuance in the City. I soli-
“ cited the pardon of the vanquished with the
“ same zeal, as if it had been for myself. Is it
“ possible therefore for me, who labored to pro-
“ cure the safety of all, not to be concerned for
“ the death of him, from whom I used to pro-
“ cure it? especially when the very same men,
“ who were the cause of making him odious,
“ were the authors also of destroying him. But
“ I shall have cause, they say, to repent, for

“ daring to condemn their act. Unheard of info-
“ lence! that it should be allowed to some to
“ glory in a wicked action, yet not to others,
“ even to grieve at it without punishment. But
“ this was always free even to slaves, to fear,
“ rejoice, and grieve by their own will, not
“ that of another; which yet these men, who call
“ themselves the authors of liberty, are endea-
“ vouring to extort from us by the force of terror.
“ But they may spare their threats: for no danger
“ shall terrify me from performing my duty and
“ the offices of humanity; since it was always my
“ opinion, that an honest death was never to be
“ avoided, often even to be sought. But why are
“ they angry with me, for wishing only, that
“ they may repent of their act? I wish that all
“ the world may regret Cæsar’s death. But I ought,
“ they say, as a member of civil society, to wish
“ the good and safety of the Republic. If my past
“ life and future hopes do not already prove that
“ I wish it, without my saying so, I will not
“ pretend to evince it by argument. I beg of you
“ therefore in the strongest terms, to attend to facts
“ rather than to words: and if you think it the
“ most useful to one in my circumstances, that
“ what is right should take place; never ima-
“ gine, that I can have any union or commerce
“ with ill designing men. I acted the same part
“ in my youth, where to mistake would have
“ been pardonable; shall I then undo it all again,
“ and renounce my principle in my declining age?
“ No; it is my resolution to do nothing that can

“ give any offence ; except it be , when I lament
“ the cruel fate of a dear friend and illustrious
“ man. If I were in different sentiments, I would
“ never disown what I was doing ; lest I should
“ be thought , not only wicked for pursuing what
“ was wrong , but false and cowardly for dissem-
“ bling it. But I undertook the care of the shows,
“ which young Cæsar exhibited for the victory of
“ his uncle : this was an affair of private , not of
“ public duty : it was what I ought to have per-
“ formed to the memory and honor of my dead
“ friend ; and what I could not therefore deny to
“ a youth of the greatest hopes , and so highly
“ worthy of Cæsar. But I go often also to the
“ Consul Antony’s to pay my compliments : yet
“ you will find those very men go oftener to ask
“ and receive favors , who reflect upon me for it ,
“ as disaffected to my Country. But what arro-
“ gance is this ? When Cæsar never hindered me
“ from visiting whom I would ; even those whom
“ he did not care for ; that they who have depri-
“ ved me of him , should attempt by their cavils
“ to debar me from placing my esteem where I
“ think proper. But I am not afraid , that either
“ the modesty of my life should not be sufficient
“ to confute all false reports of me for the future ,
“ or that they , who do not love me for my con-
“ stancy to Cæsar , would not chuse to have their
“ friends resemble me , rather than themselves. For
“ my own part , if I could have my wish , I would
“ spend the remainder of my days in quiet at
“ Rhodes : but if any accident prevent me , will

“ live in such a manner at Rome, as always to
“ desire that what is right may prevail. I am
“ greatly obliged to our friend Trebatius, for giving
“ me this assurance of your sincere and friendly
“ regard for me, and for making it my duty to
“ respect and observe a man, whom I had esteemed
“ always before with inclination. Take care of
“ your health, and preserve me in your affec-
“ tion — “ . ”

Antony all this while was not idle; but pushed on his designs with great vigor and address : in his progress through Italy, his business was to gather up Cæsar's old soldiers from the several colonies and quarters in which they were settled; and by large bribes, and larger promises to attach them to his interests, and draw great bodies of them toward Rome to be ready for any purpose, that his affairs should require. In the City likewise he neglected no means, which his Consular authority offered, how unjust or violent soever, of strengthening his power; and let all people now see, for what ends he had provided that decree, to which the Senate had consented for the sake of peace, of confirming Cæsar's acts; for being the master both of Cæsar's papers, and of his secretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written ⁶⁷, he had an opportunity of forging and inserting at pleasure whatever he found of use to him; which he practised without any reserve or management; selling publicly for money, whatever immunities were desired, by Countries, Cities, Princes, or private

Men, on pretence, that they had been granted by Cæsar, and entered into his books. This alarmed and shocked all honest men, who saw the mischief, but knew no remedy: Antony had the power, and their own decree had justified it: Cicero complains of it heavily, in many of his Letters, and declares it, a thousand times better to die than to suffer it⁸. “Is it so then?” says he; “is all, that our Brutus has done, come to this, that he might live at last at Lanuvium? That Trebonius might steal away through private roads to his province? That all the acts, writings, sayings, promises, thoughts of Cæsar should have greater force now, than when he himself was living?” All which he charges to that mistake of the first day, in not summoning the Senate into the Capitol, where they might have done what they pleased, when their own party was uppermost, and those Robbers, as he calls them, dispersed and dejected⁹.

Among the other acts, which Antony confirmed, on the pretence of their being ordered by Cæsar, he granted the freedom of the City to all Sicily, and restored to King Deiotarus all his former dominions. Cicero speaks of this with great indignation; “O my Atticus,” says he, “the Ides of March have given us nothing, but the joy of revenging ourselves on him, whom we had reason to hate——it was a brave act, but left imperfect—you know what a kindness I have for the Sicilians; that I esteem it an honor to be their Patron: Cæsar

“ granted them many privileges, which I did
“ not dislike; though his giving them the rights
“ of Latium was intolerable: yet that was no-
“ thing to what Antony has done, who for a
“ large sum of money has published a law,
“ pretended to be made by the Dictator, in
“ an assembly of the people, though we never
“ heard a syllable of it in his life-time, which
“ makes them all Citizens of Rome. Is not Deio-
“ tarus’s case just the same? He is worthy in-
“ deed of any kingdom; but not by the grant
“ of Fulvia: there are a thousand instances of the
“ same sort.” When this last act was hung
up as usual in the Capitol, among the public
monuments of the City, the forgery appeared so
gross, that the people, in the midst of their con-
cern, could not help laughing at it; knowing,
that Cæsar hated no man so much as Deiotarus.
But the bargain was made in Fulvia’s apart-
ments, for the sum of eighty thousand pounds,
by the King’s agents at Rome, without consult-
ing Cicero, or any other of their Master’s friends:
yet the old King, it seems, was beforehand with
them, and no sooner heard of Cæsar’s death, than
he seized upon his dominions again by force.
“ He knew it,” says Cicero, “ to be an univer-
“ sal right, that what Tyrants had forcibly taken
“ away, the true owners might recover when-
“ ever they were able:—he acted like a man,
“ but we contemptibly; who whilst we hate
“ the author yet maintain his acts.” By
these methods Antony presently amassed infinite

sums of money; for though at the time of Cæsar's death he owed, as Cicero told him, above three hundred thousand pounds, yet within less than a fortnight after it, he had paid off the whole debt⁷².

There was another instance of his violence, which gave still greater offence to the City; his seizing the public treasure, which Cæsar had deposited for the occasions of the government, in the Temple of Opis, amounting to above five millions and a half of our money; besides what Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, from his private treasure, had delivered into his hands, computed at about another million. This was no extraordinary sum, if we consider the vastness of the mine from which it was drawn, the extent of the Roman Empire; and that Cæsar was of all men the most rapacious in extorting it; Cicero alluding to the manner in which it was raised, calls it a bloody and deadly treasure, gathered from the spoils and ruin of the subjects; which, if it were not restored, as it ought to be, to the true owners, might have been of great service to the public, towards easing them of their taxes⁷³.

But Antony, who followed Cæsar's maxims, took care to secure it to himself: the use of it was to purchase soldiers; and he was now in condition to outbid any Competitor: but the first purchase that he made with it, was of his Colleague Dolabella, who had long been oppressed with the load of his debts, and whom, by

a part of this money, and the promise of a farther share in the plunder of the Empire, he drew entirely from Cicero and the Republican party, into his own measures. This was an acquisition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the City and the Country was clearly against him: the Town of Puteoli, one of the most considerable of Italy, had lately chosen the Two Brutus and Cassius for their Patrons⁷⁴, and there wanted nothing but a Leader to arm the whole Empire in that cause: Dolabella seemed to be that very person, till bribed, as Cicero says, by force of money, he not only deserted, but overturned the Republic⁷⁵.

These proceedings, which were preparatory to the appointed meeting of the Senate on the first of June, began to open Brutus's eyes, and convince him of the mistake of his pacific measures, and favorable thoughts of Antony: he now saw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the Senate itself under his influence: and thought it time therefore, in concert with Cassius, to require an explicit account of his intentions, and to expostulate with him gently in the following Letter.

Brutus and Cassius Prætors to
M. Antonius Consul.

“ If we were not persuaded of your sincerity
“ and good-will to us, we should not have
“ written this to you; which out of the kind

“ disposition that you bear to us, you will take
“ without doubt in good part. We are inform-
“ ed that a great multitude of veteran soldiers
“ is already come to Rome, and a much great-
“ er expected there on the first of June. If
“ we could harbour any suspicion or fear of
“ you, we should be unlike ourselves: yet sure-
“ ly, after we had put ourselves into your
“ power, and by your advice dismissed the
“ friends, whom we had about us from the
“ great Towns, and that not only by public
“ Edict, but by private Letters, we deserve to
“ be made acquainted with your designs; espe-
“ cially in an affair which relates to ourselves.
“ We beg of you therefore to let us know what
“ your intentions are with regard to us. Do
“ you think that we can be safe in such a crowd
“ of Veterans? Who have thoughts, we hear,
“ even of rebuilding the Altar; which no man
“ can desire or approve, who wishes our safety
“ and honor. That we had no other view
“ from the first but peace, nor sought any thing
“ else but the public liberty, the event shows.
“ No body can deceive us, but you; which is
“ not certainly agreeable to your virtue and in-
“ tegrity: but no man else has it in his power
“ to deceive us. We trusted, and shall trust to
“ you alone. Our friends are under the great-
“ est apprehensions for us: for though they are
“ persuaded of your integrity, yet they reflect,
“ that a multitude of Veterans may sooner be
“ pushed on to any violence by others, than
restrained

“restrained by you. We desire an explicit
“answer to all particulars; for it is silly and
“trifling to tell us, that the Veterans are called
“together, because you intend to move the
“Senate in their favor in June: for who do
“you think will hinder it, when it is certain
“that we shall not? No body ought to think
“us too fond of life, when nothing can hap-
“pen to us, but with the ruin and confusion
“of all things”.”

During Cicero's stay in the Country, where he had a perpetual resort of his friends to him, and where his thoughts seemed to be always employed on the Republic, yet he found leisure to write several of those Philosophical pieces, which still subsist both to the pleasure and benefit of mankind. For he now composed his Treatise on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, addressed to Brutus, containing the opinions of all the Philosophers, who had ever written any thing on that argument: to which he bespeaks the attention of his readers, as to a subject of the last importance; which would inform them what they ought to think of religion, piety, sanctity, ceremonies, faith, oaths, temples, &c. since all these were included in that single question of the Gods⁷⁷. He drew up likewise his discourse on Divination, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the several ways by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man: where he explains in two books whatever could be said for and against the actual existence of

the thing itself. Both these pieces are written in the way of dialogue ; of which he gives the following account. " Since Carneades , says he ,
" has argued both acutely and copiously against
" Divination , in answer to the Stoics , I am now
" inquiring what judgment we ought to form
" concerning it : and for fear of giving my assent
" rashly to a thing , either false in itself , or not
" sufficiently understood , I think it best to do ,
" what I have already done , in my three books
" on the nature of the Gods , weigh and compare
" diligently all the arguments with each other :
" for as rashness of assent and error is in all cases
" shameful , so most of all in that , where we are
" to judge what stress is to be laid on auspices ,
" and things of a divine and religious nature ;
" for the danger is , lest either by neglecting
" them , we involve ourselves in an impiety , or
" by embracing them , in an old woman's superstition " . " He now also wrote his piece on the advantages of old age , called Cato , from the chief speaker in the Dialogue : he addressed it to Atticus , as a lecture of common comfort to them both , in that gloomy scene of life on which they were entering ; having found so much pleasure , he says , in writing it , that it not only eased him of all the complaints of age , but made age itself even agreeable and chearful to him " . He added soon after another present of the same kind to Atticus , a Treatise on friendship : a subject , he says , both worthy to be known to all , and peculiarly adapted to the case of their

particular intimacy : for as I have already written of age , an old man to an old man ; so now in the person of a sincere friend , I write on friendship to my friend. This is written also in Dialogue, the chief speaker of which is Lælius ; who in a conversation with his two sons in law , Fannius and Scævola , upon the death of P. Scipio and the memorable friendship that had subsisted between them , took occasion , at their desire , to explain to them the nature and benefits of true friendship. Scævola , who lived to a great age , and loved to retail his old stories to his scholars , used to relate to them with pleasure all the particulars of this Dialogue , which Cicero having committed to his memory , dressed up afterwards in his own manner into the present form **. Thus this agreeable book , which when considered only as an invention or essay , is one of the most entertaining pieces in antiquity , must needs affect us more warmly , when it is found at last to be a History , or a picture drawn from the life , exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of the best and greatest men of Rome. He now also wrote his discourse on Fate ; which was the subject of a conversation with Hirtius , in his Villa near Puteoli , where they spent several days together in May : and he is supposed to have finished about the same time a Translation of Plato's famous Dialogue, called Timæus , on the Nature and Origin of the Universe.

But he was employing himself also upon a work of a different sort , which had been long

upon his hands ; A History of his own times, or rather of his own conduct ; full of free and severe reflections on those , who had abused their power to the oppression of the Republic , especially Cæsar and Crassus. This he calls his Anecdote ; a work not to be published , but to be shown only to a few friends , in the manner of Theopompus , an Historian , famed for his severe and invective style ⁸¹. Atticus was urging him to put the last hand to it , and to continue it down through Cæsar's government : but he chose to reserve this last part for a distinct history , in which he designed to vindicate at large the justice of killing a Tyrant. We meet with several hints of this design in his Letters : in one to Atticus , he says , “ I have not yet polished my Anecdote “ to my mind : as to what you would have me “ add , it will require a separate volume : but “ believe me , I could speak more freely and “ with less danger against that detested party , “ whilst the Tyrant himself was alive , than now “ when he is dead. For he , I know not why , “ indulged me wonderfully : but now , which “ way soever we stir , we are called back , not “ only to Cæsar's acts , but to his very thoughts.” Again ; “ I do not well understand what you “ would have me write : is it , that the Tyrant “ was killed according to the strict laws of Justice ? “ Of that I shall both speak and write my “ thoughts fully on another occasion ⁸². ” His other friends also seem to have had some notice of this work ; for Trebonius , in a Letter to him

from Athens, after reminding him of his promise to give him a place in some of his writings, adds, I do not doubt, but that, if you write any thing on the death of Cæsar, you will give me not the least share, both of that act, and of your affection⁸³. Dion Cassius says, that he delivered this book sealed up to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death; but from this time he never saw his son, and left the piece probably unfinished; though some copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, Asconius, has quoted several particulars⁸⁴.

In the end of May he began to move towards Rome, in order to assist at the Senate on the first of June, and proposed to be at Tusculum on the twenty-sixth, of which he gave Atticus notice. There passed all the while a constant commerce of Letters between him and Brutus, who desired a personal conference with him at Lanuvium; in which Cicero resolved to humor him, though he did not think it prudent at that time, when without any particular use, it would only give jealousy to Antony. But the nearer he came to the City, the more he was discouraged from the thoughts of entering it: he understood that it was filled with soldiers; that Antony came thither attended by a strong body of them; that all his views were bent on war; and that he designed to transfer the province of Gaul from D. Brutus to himself, by a vote of the people⁸⁵. Hirtius dissuaded his going, and resolved to stay away himself;

Varro sent him word, that the Veterans talked desperately against all those who did not favor them: Græceius also admonished him, on the part of C. Cassius, to be upon his guard, for that certain armed men were provided for some attempt at Tusculum. All these informations determined him at last not to venture to the Senate; but to withdraw himself from that City, where he had not only flourished, he says, with the greatest, but lived even a slave, with some dignity⁸⁶. The major part of the Senate followed his example, and fled out of the City, for fear of some violence, leaving the Consuls, with a few of their Creatures, to make what decrees they thought fit⁸⁷.

This turn of affairs made Cicero resolve to prosecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage to Greece, to spend a few months with his son at Athens. He despaired of any good from these Consuls, and intended to see Rome no more till their successors entered into office; in whose administration he began to place all his hope. He wrote therefore to Dolabella to procure him the grant of an honorary Lieutenantcy; and lest Antony, an angry man, as he calls him, should think himself slighted, he wrote to him too on the same subject. Dolabella immediately named him for one of his own Lieutenants, which answered his purpose still better, for without obliging him to any service, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go wherever he pleased: so that he readily accepted it,

and prepared for his journey ⁸⁸. He heard in the mean while from Balbus, that the Senate would be held again on the fifth; when commissions would be granted severally to Brutus and Cassius, to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily, for the use of the Republic: and that it would be decreed also at the same time, that Provinces should be assigned to them, with the other Prætors, at the expiration of the year ⁸⁹.

Their case at this time was very remarkable; it being wholly new in Rome to see Prætors driven out of the City, where their residence was absolutely necessary, and could not legally be dispensed with for above ten days in the year: but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws ⁹⁰; being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible; stript of their power, and suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection: their friends therefore at Rome had been soliciting the Senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first Magistracies of the Republic ⁹¹.

This was the ground of the commission just mentioned to buy corn; which seemed, however, to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by Antony, who affected still to speak of them always with the greatest respect ⁹². But their friends thought any thing better for them than to sit still in Italy; where their persons were

exposed to danger from the veteran foldiers, who were all now in motion; and that this employment would be a security to them for the present, as well as an opportunity of providing for their future safety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some Provinces abroad, and arming themselves in defence of the Republic: which was what their enemies were most afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Cicero in the mean time, at their desire, had again recommended their interests to Hirtius, who gave him the following answer.

“ I wish that Brutus and Cassius could be prevailed with by you as easily to lay aside all crafty counsels, as they can obtain by you from me whatever they desire. They were leaving Italy, you say, when they wrote to you: whither? or wherefore? do not let them go, I beseech you, my dear Cicero: nor suffer the Republic to be wholly lost; though overwhelmed indeed already by these rapines, burnings, murders. If they are afraid of any thing, let them be upon their guard; but act nothing offensively: they will not, I am confident, gain a tittle the more by the most vigorous, than the most pacific measures, if they use but caution. The things which are now stirring cannot last long; but if made the subject of war, will acquire present strength to hurt. Let me know your opinion of what may be expected from them.” — Cicero sent him

word, that he would be answerable for their attempting nothing desperate; and was informed at the same time by Balbus, that Servilia, Brutus's mother, had undertaken that they should not leave Italy⁹³.

Servilia, though sister to Cato, had been one of Cæsar's Mistresses, and next to Cleopatra, the most beloved of them all: in the civil war he gave her several rich farms out of his Pompeian confiscations; and is said to have bought a single jewel for her at the price of about 50,000l.⁹⁴. She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with the Cæsarean party, and at this very time possessed the Estate and Villa of Pontius Aquila, one of the Conspirators, which had been confiscated and granted to her by Cæsar. Cicero reckons it among the solecisms of the times, that the mother of the Tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices⁹⁵: yet she had such a share in all the counsels of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust: When he is influenced so much, says he, by his mother's advice, or at least her entreaties, why should I interpose myself⁹⁶.

At their desire, however, he went over to them at Antium, to assist at a select council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commission. There were present among others, Favonius, Servilia, Portia, Brutus's wife, and his Sister Tertulla, the wife of Cassius: Brutus was much pleased at

his coming, and after the first compliments, begged him to deliver his opinion to the company on the subject of their meeting. Upon which he presently advised, what he had been considering on the road, “that Brutus should go to Asia, and
“ undertake the affair of the corn; that the only
“ thing to be done at present was to provide
“ for their safety; that their safety was a certain
“ benefit to the Republic — here Cassius interrupted him, and, with great fierceness in his
“ looks, protested, that he would not go to Sicily,
“ nor accept as a favor, what was intended as an
“ affront; but would go to Achaia — Brutus
“ said, that he would go to Rome, if Cicero
“ thought it proper for him — but Cicero declared
“ it impossible for him to be safe there — but
“ supposing,” says he, “that I could be safe:
“ why then, says Cicero, I should advise it by
“ all means, as the best thing, which you could
“ do, and better than any Province — after
“ much discourse and complaining for the loss
“ of their opportunities, for which Cassius laid
“ all the blame on D. Brutus, Cicero said, that
“ though that was true, yet it was in vain to
“ talk of what was past; and as the case then
“ stood, he saw nothing left, but to follow his
“ advice — to which they all at last seemed to
“ agree, especially, when Servilia undertook, by
“ her mediation, to get the affair of the corn left
“ out of their commission: and Brutus consented,
“ that the Plays and Shows, with which he was
“ to entertain the City shortly as Prætor, should

“ be given by proxy in his absence —— Cicero
 “ took his leave, pleased with nothing in the
 “ conference, but the consciousness of having done
 “ his duty : for as to the rest, he gave all,” he
 says, “ for lost; found the vessel, not only broken,
 “ but shattered to pieces; and neither prudence,
 “ reason, nor design in what they were doing :
 “ so that if he had any doubt before, he had
 “ none now, but longed to get abroad as soon
 “ as possible —.”

Octavius, upon his coming to Rome, was very roughly received by Antony; who despising his age and want of experience, was so far from treating him as Cæsar's heir, or giving him possession of his estate, that he openly threatened and thwarted him in all his pretensions, nor would suffer him to be chosen Tribune, to which he aspired, with the seeming favor of the people, in the room of that Cinna, who was killed at Cæsar's funeral⁹⁸. This necessarily drew the regard of the Republican party towards him, and Cicero began to take the more notice of him in proportion, as Antony grew more and more formidable : at present, he gives the following account of him.
 “ Octavianus, I perceive, has parts and spirit,
 “ and seems to be affected, as we could wish,
 “ towards our Heroes : but how far we may trust
 “ his age, name, succession, education, is a
 “ matter of great deliberation : his Father-in-law,
 “ who came to see me at Astura, thinks not at
 “ all. He must be cherished, however, if for no-
 “ thing else, yet to keep him at a distance from

“ Antony. Marcellus acts nobly, if he instils into
“ him a good disposition towards our friends : he
“ seemed to be much influenced by him , but to
“ have no confidence in Panfa and Hirtius : his na-
“ tural disposition is good , if it does but hold ”.

In the midst of these affairs, with which his mind, as he complains, was much distracted, he pursued his literary studies with his usual ardor; and to avoid the great resort of company, which interrupted him, at his house near Baiæ, he removed to his Pompeian Villa, on the south side of Naples. Here he began his book of offices, for the use and instruction of his son, designed, he says, to be the fruit of this excursion : he composed also an Oration, adapted to the state of the times, and sent it to Atticus, to be suppressed or published at his discretion; promising him withal to finish and sent him in a short time his secret History or Anecdote, in the manner of Heraclides, to be kept close in his Cabinet¹⁰⁰.

Before he could leave Italy, he was obliged to return to Tusculum, to settle his private affairs, and provide his equipage; and wrote to Dolabella, to give orders for the mules and other necessaries, which the government used to furnish to those who went abroad with a public character¹⁰¹. Here Atticus and he took leave of each other, with all possible marks of the most sincere and tender affection. The unsettled condition of the times, and the uncertainty when, or in what circumstances they should meet again, raised several melancholy reflections in them both, which, as soon as they

parted, drew many tears from Atticus, of which he gave Cicero an account in his next letter, with a promise to follow him into Greece: Cicero answered him with equal tenderness; "it moved me," says he, "to hear of the tears which you shed after you left me: had you done it in my presence, I should have dropt perhaps all thoughts of my journey. That part, however, pleases me, where you comfort yourself with the hopes of our meeting again shortly: which expectation indeed is what chiefly supports me: I will write to you perpetually; give you an account of every thing which relates to Brutus; send you very shortly my Treatise on Glory; and finish for you the other work, to be locked up with your treasure, &c.¹⁰²."

These little passages from familiar Letters, illustrate more effectually the real characters of men, than any of their more specious and public acts. It is commonly thought the part of a statesman, to divest himself of every thing natural, and banish every passion that does not serve his interest or ambition: but here we see a quite different character, one of the greatest statesmen of the world cherishing and cultivating in himself the soft and social affections of love and friendship; as knowing them to be designed equally by nature for the comfort as well of public as private life.

Atticus likewise, whose philosophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections that did not terminate in himself, was frequently drawn by the goodness of his nature to correct the vicious-

ness of his principle. He had often reproved Cicero for an excess of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no sooner got a little Attica of his own, than he began to discover the same fondness; which gave Cicero occasion to repay his raillery with great politeness. "I rejoice," says he, "to perceive that you take so much delight in your little girl. I love her already myself, and know her to be amiable, though I have never seen her. Adieu then to Patro, and all your Epicurean School." In another Letter; "I am mightily pleased with the fondness that you express for your little daughter; and to see you feel at last, that the love of our children does not flow from habit or fashion, but from nature: for if that be not so, there can be no natural conjunction between one man and another, without which all society must necessarily be dissolved¹⁰³."

There was now great expectation of the shows and plays which Brutus, as Prætor of the City, was going to exhibit, according to annual custom, in honor of Apollo, on the third of July; and all people were attentive and impatient to see in what manner they would be received. Brutus wrote to Cicero, to beg, that he would grace them with his presence: but Cicero thought the request absurd, nor at all agreeable to Brutus's usual prudence. His answer was, "that he was got too far upon his journey to have it now in his power; and that it would be very improper for him, who had not been in Rome since it

“ was filled with soldiers, not so much out of
“ regard to his danger, as his dignity, to run
“ thither on a sudden to see plays: that in such
“ times as these, though it was reputable for those
“ to give plays, whose office required it, yet for
“ his seeing them, as it was not necessary, so
“ neither would it be thought decent — ¹⁰⁴.”

He was heartily solicitous, however, that they might meet with all imaginable encouragement, and charged Atticus to send him a particular account of what passed on each day from their first opening.

The success of them answered all their hopes, for they were received with an incredible applause by all ranks, though Antony's brother Caius, as the next Prætor in office, presided at them: one of the plays was Tereus, a Tragedy of Accius; which having many strokes in it on the characters and acts of Tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. Atticus performed his part to Cicero, and sent him a punctual account of what passed every day; which he constantly communicated to Brutus, who was now in his neighbourhood, in Nefis, a little Isle on the Campanian shore, the seat of young Lucullus — In his answer to Atticus, “Your Letters,” says he, “were very acceptable to Brutus: I spent
“ several hours with him, soon after I received
“ them; he seemed to be delighted with the
“ account of Tereus; and thought himself more
“ obliged to the Poet Accius, who made it, than
“ to the Prætor Antony, who presided at it.

“ But the more joy you send us of this sort,
“ the more indignation it gives me, to see the
“ Roman people employ their hands in clapping
“ plays, not in defending the Republic. This
“ perhaps may provoke our enemies to discover
“ themselves before they intended it; yet if they
“ be mortified, I care not by what means¹⁰⁵. ”

In a speech made afterwards to the Senate, he urges this judgment of the City, as a proper lesson to Antony, to teach him the way to glory. O happy Brutus, says he, who when driven from Rome by force of arms, resided still in the hearts and bowels of his Citizens, who made themselves amends for the absence of their deliverer, by their perpetual applauses and acclamations¹⁰⁶.

But there was one thing, which through the inadvertency of Brutus's managers, or the contrivance of the Prætor Antony, gave Brutus some uneasiness; that in the Edict for proclaiming his shows, the month, instead of Quintilis, was styled July, by it's new name, lately given to it in honor of Cæsar: for it raised great speculation, and was thought strange, that Brutus by Edict, should acknowledge and confirm an act, contrived to perpetuate the honor of Tyranny. This little circumstance greatly disturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected upon as a mean condescension; and since it could not be remedied as to the plays, he resolved to correct it for the rest of the shows; and gave immediate orders, that the huntings of the wild beasts, which were to follow, should be proclaimed for the thirteenth of Quintilis¹⁰⁷.

While

While Cicero continued in these parts, he spent the greatest share of his time with Brutus; and as they were one day together, L. Libo came to them, with Letters just received from young S. Pompey, his son-in-law, with proposals of an accommodation, addressed to the Consuls, on which he desired their opinion. Cicero thought them drawn with great gravity and propriety of expression, excepting a few inaccuracies, and advised only to change the address; and instead of the Consuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other Magistrates, with the Senate and people of Rome, lest the Consuls should suppress them, as belonging only to themselves. These Letters brought in substance, “that Pompey was now master of seven Legions; that as he had just stormed a Town called Borea, he received the news of Cæsar’s death; which caused a wonderful joy, and change of affairs through the province of Spain, and a concourse of people to him from all parts. The sum of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies should dismiss them, but to Libo he signified, that unless his Father’s Estate and House at Rome, which Antony now possessed, were restored to him, he would agree to nothing¹⁰⁸.”

This overture from Pompey was procured chiefly by the management of Lepidus¹⁰⁹: who having the Province of Spain assigned to him, where Pompey was very strong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at such a distance from Rome,

and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in Italy: for which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty on honorable terms to Pompey, and “that, on condition of laying down his
“ arms, and quitting the Province, he should be
“ restored to all his estates and honors, and have
“ the command of the whole naval power of
“ Rome, in the same manner as his Father had
“ it before him: all which was proposed and re-
“ commended to the Senate by Antony himself¹¹⁶.”

Where to preserve a due respect to Cæsar's Acts, by which Pompey's estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, that the same sum, for which they had been sold, should be given to him by the public, to enable him to purchase them again: This amounted to above five millions and a half of our money, exclusive of his Jewels, Plate, and furniture; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to lose¹¹⁷. On these terms, ratified by the authority of the Senate, Pompey actually quitted Spain, and came to Marseilles. The project was wisely concerted by Lepidus and Antony; for while it carried a show of moderation, and disposition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy, who was in condition to give a great obstruction to their designs, and diversion to their arms, at a time when the necessity of their interests required their presence, and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power in the heart and centre of the Empire.

There happened an incident at this time

of a domestic kind, which gave some pleasure both to Cicero and Atticus; the unexpected conversion of their Nephew Quintus. He had long ago deserted his Father and Uncle, and attached himself wholly to Cæsar, who supplied him liberally with money: On Cæsar's death he adhered still to the same cause, and was in the utmost confidence with Antony; and, as Atticus calls him, his right hand¹¹²; or the minister of all his projects in the City; but upon some late disgust, he began to make overtures to his friends, of coming over to Brutus, pretending to have conceived an abhorrence of Antony's designs; and signifying to his Father, that Antony would have engaged him to seize some strong post in the City, and declare him Dictator, and upon his refusal, was become his enemy¹¹³. The Father, overjoyed at this change, carried his son to Cicero, to persuade him of his sincerity, and to beg his intercession also with Atticus, to be reconciled to him: but Cicero, who knew the fickleness and perfidy of the youth, gave little credit to him; taking the whole for a contrivance only to draw money from them; yet in compliance with their request, he wrote what they desired to Atticus; but sent him another Letter at the same time with his real thoughts on the matter.

“ Our Nephew Quintus, “ says he, ” promis-
“ es to be a very Cato. Both his Father and
“ he having been pressing me, that I would un-
“ dertake for him to you; yet so, that you

“ should not believe him, till you yourself had
“ seen the effects of it. I shall give him there-
“ fore such a Letter to you as he would have;
“ but let it not move you, for I have written
“ this, lest you should imagine that I am mov-
“ ed myself. The Gods grant that he may
“ perform what he promises; for it will be a
“ common joy to us all. I will say nothing
“ more of it at present, &c.”¹¹⁴.

But young Quintus got the better at last of all Cicero's suspicions; and after spending several days with him, convinced him by his whole behaviour and conversation, that he was in earnest: so that he not only recommended him very affectionately to Atticus, but presented him also to Brutus, to make the offer of his service to him in person: “ If he had not wholly persuaded me, “ says he, “ that what I am saying of him is certainly true, I should not have done what I am going to tell you: for “ I carried the youth with me to Brutus, who “ was so well satisfied with him, that he gave “ him full credit, without suffering me to be “ his sponsor: in commending him, he mentioned you in the kindest manner, and at “ parting, embraced and kissed him. Wherefore, though there is reason rather to congratulate, than to entreat you, yet I beg, that “ whatever he may have done hitherto, through “ the weakness of age, with more levity than “ became him, you would believe it all to be “ now over, &c.”¹¹⁵.

Quintus kept his word with them; and to give proof of his zeal and sincerity, was so hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake to accuse Antony to the people, for plundering the Temple of Opis ¹¹⁶. But this accident of changing his party, which gave so much joy at present to the whole family, though owing rather to a giddiness of temper, than any good principle, proved fatal not long after both to the young man and his Father; as it seems to have been the most probable cause of their being proscribed and murdered the year following, by Antony's order, together with Cicero himself.

Cicero was now ready for his voyage; and had provided three little Yachts or Galleys to transport himself and his attendants: but as there was a report of Legions arriving daily from abroad, and of Pirates also at sea, he thought it would be safer to sail in company with Brutus and Cassius, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coast ¹¹⁷. He gave several hints of this design to Brutus, who received it more coldly than he expected; he seemed uncertain and irresolute about the time of his own going. He resolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in some perplexity to the last, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of its being censured, as a desertion of his country: but Atticus kept up his Spirits, by assuring him constantly in his Letters, that all people approved

it at Rome, provided that he kept his word, of returning by the first of the new year¹¹⁸.

He sailed slowly along the coast towards Rhegium, going ashore every night to lodge with some Friend or Client; he spent one day at Velia, the native place of Trebatius; whence he wrote a kind Letter to him, dated the nineteenth of July; advising him by no means to sell that family estate, as he then designed, situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people who entirely loved him¹¹⁹. At this place he began his Treatise of Topics, or the art of finding arguments on any question: it was an abstract of Aristotle's piece on the same subject; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's Tusculan Library, had begged of him to explain. But Cicero never found leisure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the task by the sight of Velia; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed, before he came to Rhegium; whence he sent it to Trebatius, with a letter dated the twenty-seventh. He excuses the obscurity of it, from the nature of the argument, requiring great attention to understand, and great application to reduce it to practice: in which, however, he promises to assist him, if he lived to return, and found the Republic subsisting¹²⁰.

In the same voyage, happening to be look-

ing over his Treatise on the Academic Philosophy, he observed the Preface of the third book to be the same that he had prefixed to his book on Glory, which he had lately sent to Atticus. It was his custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems, adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterwards publish; so that by mistake he had used this preface twice, without remembering it: he composed a new one therefore on ship-board, for the piece on Glory; and sent it to Atticus, with orders, to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface¹²¹. So wonderful was his industry and love of letters, that neither the inconvenience of sailing, which he always hated, nor the busy thoughts which must needs intrude upon him, on leaving Italy in such a conjuncture, could disturb the calm and regular pursuit of his studies.

From Rhegium, or rather Leucopetra, a promontory close by it, he passed over to Syracuse on the first of August: where he staid but one night, though in a City particularly devoted to him, and under his special protection: but he was unwilling to give umbrage or suspicion to those at Rome, of having any views abroad, which concerned the public¹²²: he set sail therefore again the next morning towards Greece; but was driven back by contrary winds to Leucopetra; and after a second attempt with no better success, was forced to repose himself in the Villa of his

friend Valerius, and wait for the opportunity of a fair wind ¹²³.

Here the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their compliments; some of them fresh from Rome, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there towards a general pacification; "That Antony seemed disposed to listen to reason, to desist from his pretensions to Gaul; submit to the authority of the Senate; and make up matters with Brutus and Cassius; who had written circular Letters to all the principal Senators, to beg their attendance in the Senate on the first of September; and that Cicero's absence was particularly regretted, and even blamed at such a crisis ¹²⁴." This agreeable account of things made him presently drop all thoughts of pursuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed likewise by Letters from Atticus, who, contrary to his former advice, pressed him now in strong and pathetic terms, to come back again to Rome.

He returned therefore by the same course, which he had before taken, and came back to Velia on the seventeenth of August: Brutus lay within three miles off it with his fleet, and hearing of his arrival, came immediately on foot to salute him: "he declared himself exceedingly pleased with Cicero's return; owned, that he had never approved, though he had not dissuaded the voyage; thinking it indecent, to give advice to a man of his experience;

“ but now told him plainly, that he had escap-
“ ed two great imputations on his character;
“ the one, of too hasty a despair and desertion
“ of the common cause; the other, of the va-
“ nity of going to see the Olympic games. This
“ last, as Cicero says, would have been shame-
“ ful for him, in any state of the Republic, but
“ in the present, unpardonable; and professes
“ himself therefore greatly obliged to the winds
“ for preserving him from such an infamy, and
“ like good Citizens, blowing him back to the
“ service of his country ”.”

Brutus informed him likewise of what had passed in the senate, on the first of August; and how Piso had signalized himself by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favor of the public liberty, in which no body had the courage to second him: he produced also Antony's Edict, and their answer to it, which pleased Cicero very much; but on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it, as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at Rome; where there was not one Senator, who had the courage to support Piso, nor Piso himself the resolution to appear in the Senate again the next day ”.

This was the last conference, that he ever had with Brutus; who together with Cassius left Italy soon after it: they were both to succeed of course, as all Prætors did at the expiration of their office, to the government of some

Province, which was assigned to them either by lot, or by an extraordinary decree of the senate. Cæsar had intended Macedonia for the one, and Syria for the other, but as these were two of the most important commands of the Empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time, when their enemies were taking measures to destroy them, so Antony contrived to get two other Provinces decreed to them of an inferior kind, Crete to Brutus, and Cyrene to Cassius; and by a law of the people, procured Macedonia and Syria to be conferred upon himself, and his Colleague Dolabella; in consequence of which, he sent his Brother Caius in all haste to possess himself of the first, and Dolabella to secure the second, before their rivals could be in condition to seize them by force, of which they were much afraid: taking it for granted, that this was the project, which Brutus and Cassius were now meditating. Cassius had acquired a great reputation in the East, by his conduct in the Parthian war, and Brutus was highly honored in Greece, for his eminent virtue and love of Philosophy: they resolved therefore to slight the petty Provinces, which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones, that Cæsar had promised them; and with that view had provided the fleets above-mentioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of Action; Brutus, to Macedonia, Cassius, to Syria; where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their success¹²⁷.

Cicero in the mean while pursued his journey towards Rome, where he arrived on the last of the month: on his approach to the City, such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the whole day was spent in receiving the compliments and congratulations of his friends, as he passed along to his House¹²⁸. The Senate met the next morning, to which he was particularly summoned by Antony, but excused himself by a civil message, as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey. Antony took this as an affront, and in great rage threatened openly in the Senate, to order his house to be pulled down, if he did not come immediately; till by the interposition of the assembly he was dissuaded from using any violence¹²⁹.

The business of the day was, to decree some new and extraordinary honors to the memory of Cæsar, with a religious supplication to him, as to a Divinity: Cicero was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not only be fruitless but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. Antony, on the other hand, was desirous to have him there, fancying, that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him with his own party, or by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery; but as he was absent, the decree passed without any contradiction.

The Senate met again the next day, when Antony thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to Cicero¹³⁰; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches,

which, in imitation of Demosthenes, were called afterwards his Philippics — he opens it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage, and sudden return; of his interview with Brutus, and his regret at leaving him: “At Velia,” says he, “I saw Brutus: with what grief I saw him I need not tell you: I could not but think it scandalous for me, to return to a City from which he was forced to retire, and to find myself safe in any place, where he could not be so: yet Brutus was not half so much moved with it, as I, but supported by the consciousness of his noble act, showed not the least concern for his own case, while he expressed the greatest for yours.” — He then declares, “that he came to second Piso; and in case of any accidents, of which many seemed to surround him, to leave that day’s speech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity to his country”. Before he enters upon the state of the Republic, he takes occasion to complain of the unprecedented violence of Antony’s treatment of him the day before, who would not have been better pleased with him, had he been present; for he should never have consented to pollute the Republic with so detestable a religion, and blend the honors of the Gods with those of a dead man: he prays the Gods to forgive both the Senate and the People for their forced consent to it — that he would never have decreed it, though it had been to old Brutus himself, who first delivered Rome from Regal Tyranny, and, at the distance of five

“ centuries, had propagated a race from the same
“ stock, to do their country the same service¹³².
“ He returns thanks to Piso, for what he had said
“ in that place the month before; wishes, that he
“ had been present to second him; and reproves
“ the other Consulars, for betraying their dignity
“ by deserting him. — As to the public affairs, he
“ dwells chiefly on Antony’s abuse of their decree,
“ to confirm Cæsar’s acts; declares himself still for
“ the confirmation of them, not that he liked
“ them, but for the sake of peace; yet of the
“ genuine acts only, such as Cæsar himself had
“ completed; not the imperfect notes and memo-
“ randums of his pocket-books; not every scrap of
“ his writing; or what he had not even written,
“ but spoken only, and that, without a voucher —
“ he charges Antony with a strange inconsistency,
“ in pretending such a zeal for Cæsar’s acts, yet
“ violating the most solemn and authentic of them,
“ his laws; of which he gives several examples:
“ thinks it intolerable, to oblige them to the
“ performance of all Cæsar’s promises, yet annul
“ so freely what ought to be held the most sacred
“ and inviolable of any thing that he had done:”
he addresses himself pathetically to both the Con-
suls, though Dolabella only was present; tells
them, “ that they had no reason to repent his
“ speaking so freely on the behalf of the Republic:
“ that he made no personal reflections; had not
“ touched their characters, their lives, and man-
“ ners: that if he offended in that way, he desired
“ no quarter¹³³: but if, according to his custom,

“ he delivered himself with all freedom on public
“ affairs, he begged in the first place, that they
“ would not be angry; in the next, that if they
“ were, they would express their anger, as became
“ Citizens, by civil, not military methods: that he
“ had been admonished indeed, not to expect,
“ that the same liberty would be allowed to him,
“ the enemy of Cæsar, which had been indulged
“ to Piso, his Father-in-law; that Antony would
“ resent whatever was said against his will, though
“ free from personal injury: if so, he must bear it,
“ as well as he could — then after touching on
“ the plundering the Temple of Opis, of those
“ sums, which might have been of great service
“ to the state, he observes, that whatever the
“ vulgar might think, money was not the thing,
“ which they aimed at; that their souls were
“ too noble for that, and had greater designs in
“ view¹³⁴: but they quite mistook the road to
“ glory, if they thought it to consist in a single
“ man’s having more power, than a whole people
“ — that to be dear to our Citizens, to deserve
“ well of our Country, to be praised, respected,
“ beloved, was truly glorious; to be feared and
“ hated, always invidious, detestable, weak and
“ tottering — that Cæsar’s fate was a warning to
“ them, how much better it was to be loved, than
“ to be feared: that no man could live happy,
“ who held life on such terms, that it might be
“ taken from him, not only with impunity, but
“ with praise¹³⁵. He puts them in mind of the many
“ public demonstrations of the people’s disaffection

“ to them, and their constant applauses and accla-
“ mations to those, who opposed them, to which
“ he begs them to attend with more care, in order
“ to learn the way how to be truly great and
“ glorious. — He concludes by declaring, that
“ he had now reaped the full fruit of his return,
“ by giving this public testimony of his constant
“ adherence to the interests of his country: that
“ he would use the same liberty oftener, if he
“ found that he could do it with safety; if not,
“ would reserve himself, as well as he could, to
“ better times, not so much out of regard to
“ himself, as to the Republic.”

In speaking afterwards of this day's debate, he says, “ that whilst the rest of the Senate behaved
“ like slaves, he alone showed himself to be free;
“ and though he spoke indeed with less freedom,
“ than it had been his custom to do, yet it was
“ with more, than the dangers, with which he
“ was threatened, seemed to allow¹³⁶.” Antony
was greatly enraged at his speech, and summoned
another meeting of the Senate for the nineteenth,
where he again required Cicero's attendance, being
resolved to answer him in person, and justify his
own Conduct: for which end he employed himself
during the interval in preparing the materials of a
speech, and declaiming against Cicero in his Villa
near Tibur. The Senate met on the appointed
day, in the Temple of Concord, whither Antony
came with a strong guard, and in great expectation
of meeting Cicero, whom he had endeavoured by
artifice to draw thither: but though Cicero himself

was ready and desirous to go, yet his friends over-ruled and kept him at home, being apprehensive of some design intended against his life¹³⁷.

Antony's speech confirmed their apprehensions, in which he poured out the overflowings of his spleen with such fury against him, that Cicero, alluding to what he had done a little before in public, says, that he seemed once more rather to spew, than to speak¹³⁸. He produced Cicero's Letter to him, about the restoration of S. Clodius, in which Cicero acknowledged him, not only for his friend, but a good Citizen; as if the Letter was a confutation of his speech, and Cicero had other reasons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended service of the public¹³⁹. But the chief thing, with which he urged him, was, his being not only privy to the murder of Cæsar, but the Contriver of it, as well as the author of every step, which the Conspirators had since taken: by this he hoped to inflame the soldiers to some violence, whom he had planted for that purpose about the avenues of the Temple, and within hearing even of their debates. Cicero in his account of it to Cassius, says, that he should not scruple to own a share in the act, if he could have a share in the glory: but that, if he had really been concerned in it, they should never have left the work half finished¹⁴⁰.

He had resided all this while in Rome, or the neighbourhood; but as a breach with Antony was now inevitable, he thought it necessary for his security, to remove to a greater distance; to some
of

of his Villas near Naples. Here he composed his second Philippic, by way of reply to Antony; not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be published till things were actually come to extremity, and the occasions of the Republic made it necessary to render Antony's character and designs as odious as possible to the people. The oration is a most bitter invective on his whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colors of wit and eloquence — it was greatly admired by the ancients, and shows, that in the decline of Life, Cicero had lost no share of that fire and spirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cause more interesting, or where he had greater reason to exert himself: he knew, that in case of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either Antony or the Republic must perish; and he was determined to risk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of out-living a second time the liberty of his country.

He sent a copy of this speech to Brutus and Cassius, who were infinitely pleased with it: they now at last clearly saw, that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate; and being resolved therefore to leave Italy, they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following Letter in common to Antony.

Brutus and Cassius Prætors to Antony Consul.

“ If you are in good health, it is a pleasure to
“ us. We have read your Letter, exactly of a piece
“ with your Edict, abusive, threatening, wholly
“ unworthy to be sent from you to us. For our
“ part, Antony, we have never done you any
“ injury; nor imagined, that you would think it
“ strange, that Prætors and men of our rank
“ should require any thing by Edict of a Consul:
“ but if you are angry, that we have presumed
“ to do it, give us leave to be concerned, that
“ you would not indulge that privilege at least to
“ Brutus and Cassius: for as to our raising troops,
“ exacting contributions, soliciting armies, sending
“ expresses beyond sea; since you deny, that you
“ ever complained of it, we believe you; and take
“ it as a proof of your good intention: we do
“ not indeed own any such practices; yet think it
“ strange, when you objected nothing of that
“ kind, that you could not contain yourself, from
“ reproaching us with the death of Cæsar. Consider
“ with yourself, whether it is to be endured, that
“ for the sake of the public quiet and liberty,
“ Prætors cannot depart from their rights by Edict,
“ but the Consul must presently threaten them
“ with arms. Do not think to frighten us with
“ such threats: it is not agreeable to our character
“ to be moved by any danger: nor must Antony
“ pretend to command those, by whose means he
“ now lives free. If there were other reasons to
“ dispose us to raise a civil war, your Letter

“ would have no effect to hinder it: for threats
“ can have no influence on those, who are free.
“ But you know very well, that it is not possible
“ for us, to be driven to any thing against our
“ will; and for that reason perhaps you threaten,
“ that whatever we do, it may seem to be the
“ effect of fear. These then are our sentiments:
“ we wish to see you live with honor and splendor
“ in a free Republic; have no desire to quarrel
“ with you; yet value our liberty, more than
“ your friendship. It is your business to consider
“ again and again, what you attempt, and what
“ you can maintain; and to reflect, not how long
“ Cæsar lived, but how short a time he reigned:
“ we pray the Gods, that your counsels may be
“ salutary, both to the Republic and to yourself;
“ if not, wish at least, that they may hurt you
“ as little, as may consist with the safety and
“ dignity of the Republic¹⁴¹. ”

Octavius perceived by this time, that there was nothing to be done for him in the City against a Consul, armed with supreme power both civil and military; and was so far provoked by the ill usage, which he had received, that, in order to obtain by stratagem what he could not gain by force, he formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with their poniards in Antony's house, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed by many to be forged by Antony to justify his treatment of Octavius, and his

depriving him of the estate of his uncle ; but all men of sense , as Cicero says , both believed and applauded it ; and the greatest part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact ¹⁴².

They were both of them equally suspected by the Senate ; but Antony more immediately dreaded on the account of his superior power , and supposed credit with the soldiers , whom he had served with through all the late wars , and on several occasions commanded. Here his chief strength lay ; and to ingratiate himself the more with them , he began to declare himself more and more openly every day against the Conspirators ; threatening them in his Edicts ; and discovering a resolution to revenge the death of Cæsar ; to whom he erected a statue in the Rostra , and inscribed it , to the most worthy parent of his Country. Cicero speaking of this in a Letter to Cassius , says , “ Your
“ friend Antony grows every day more furious ,
“ as you see from the inscription of his statue ; by
“ which he makes you , not only murderers , but
“ Parricides. But why do I say you , and not
“ rather us ? for the madman affirms me to be the
“ author of your noble act. I wish that I had
“ been , for if I had , he would not have been so
“ troublesome to us at this time ¹⁴³ ”.

Octavius was not less active in soliciting his Uncle's soldiers , sparing neither pains nor money that could tempt them to his service ; and by outbidding Antony in all his offers and bribes to them , met with greater success than was expected , so as to draw together in a short time a firm and

regular army of Veterans, completely furnished with all necessaries for present service. But as he had no public character to justify this conduct, which in regular times would have been deemed treasonable, so he paid the greater court to the Republican Chiefs, in hopes to get his proceedings authorized by the Senate; and by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himself: he now therefore was continually pressing Cicero by Letters and friends to come to Rome, and support him with his authority against their common enemy, Antony; promising to govern himself in every step by his advice.

But Cicero could not yet be persuaded to enter into his affairs: he suspected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not strength enough to deal with Antony; and above all, that he had no good disposition towards the Conspirators: he thought it impossible that he should ever be a friend to them, and was persuaded rather that if ever he got the upper hand, his Uncle's acts would be more violently enforced, and his death more cruelly revenged, than by Antony himself¹⁴⁴. These considerations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the Republic made it absolutely necessary; nor did he consent at last, without making it an express condition, that Octavius should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of Brutus and his accomplices: where his chief care and caution still was, to arm him only with a power sufficient to oppress Antony, yet so

checked and limited, that he should not be able to oppress the Republic.

This is evident from many of his Epistles to Atticus; “ I had a Letter,” says he, “ from Octavianus on the first of November: his designs are great: he has drawn over all the Veterans of Casilinum and Calatia: and no wonder, he gives sixteen pounds a man. He proposes to make the tour of other colonies: his view plainly is to have the command of the war against Antony; so that we shall be in arms in a few days. But which of them shall we follow? — Consider his name, his age: he begs to have a private conference with me at Capua, or near it: it is childish to imagine it could be private: I gave him to understand, that it was neither necessary nor practicable. He sent to me one Cæcina of Volaterræ, who brought word, that Antony was coming towards the City with the Legion of the Alaudæ¹⁴: that he raised contributions from all the great Towns, and marched with colors displayed: he asked my advice, whether he should advance before him to Rome, with three thousand Veterans, or keep the post of Capua, and oppose his progress there, or go to the three Macedonian Legions, who were marching along the upper coast, and are, as he hopes, in his interest — they would not take Antony’s money, as this Cæcina says, but even affronted and left him while he was speaking to them. In short, he offers himself for our Leader, and thinks that we ought to support him. I

“advise him to march to Rome: for he seems
“likely to have the meaner people on his side;
“and if he makes good what he promises, the
“better fort too. O Brutus, where art thou?
“What an opportunity dost thou lose? I did not
“indeed foresee this: yet thought that something
“like it would happen. Give me your advise:
“shall I come away to Rome; stay where I am;
“or retire to Arpinum? where I shall be the safest.
“I had rather be at Rome, lest if any thing should
“be done, I should be wanted: resolve therefore
“for me: I never was in greater perplexity ¹⁴⁶.”

Again; “I had two Letters the same day from
“Octavius: he presses me to come immediately
“to Rome; is resolved, he says, to do nothing
“without the Senate—I tell him, that there can
“be no Senate till the first of January, which I
“take to be true: he adds also, nor without my
“advice. In a word, he urges; I hang back: I
“cannot trust his age; do not know his real inten-
“tions; will do nothing without Panfa; am afraid
“that Antony may prove too strong for him; and
“unwilling to stir from the sea; yet would not
“have any thing vigorous done without me.
“Varro does not like the conduct of the boy;
“but I do. He has firm troops, and may join
“with D. Brutus: what he does, he does open-
“ly; musters his soldiers at Capua; pays them;
“we shall have a war I see instantly — ¹⁴⁷.”

Again; “I have Letters every day from
“Octavianus, to undertake his affairs; to come

“ to him at Capua; to save the state a second
 “ time: he resolves to come directly to Rome.

“ Urg’d to the fight, it is shameful to refuse,
 “ Whilst fear yet prompts the safer part to
 “ chuse. — Hom. Il. 7.

“ He has hitherto acted, and acts still with vigor;
 “ and will come to Rome with a great force.
 “ Yet he is but a boy: he thinks the Senate may
 “ be called immediately; but who will come?
 “ or, if they do, who, in this uncertainty of
 “ affairs, will declare against Antony? he will be
 “ a good guard to us on the first of January: or
 “ it may come perhaps to blows before. The
 “ great Towns favor the boy strangely. — They
 “ flock to him from all parts, and exhort him to
 “ proceed: could you ever have thought it ¹⁴⁸?”

There are many other passages of the same kind, expressing a diffidence of Octavius, and inclination to sit still, and let them fight it out between themselves: till the exigency of affairs made their union at last mutually necessary to each other.

In the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still with his usual application; and besides the second Philippic, already mentioned, now finished his book of offices, or the duties of man, for the use of his son ¹⁴⁹. A work admired by all succeeding ages, as the most perfect system of Heathen morality, and the noblest effort and specimen, of what mere reason could do towards guiding man through life with inno-

cence and happiness. He now also drew up, as it is thought, his Stoical Paradoxes, or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the Examples and Characters of their own Countrymen, which he addressed to Brutus.

Antony left Rome about the end of September, in order to meet and engage to his service Four Legions from Macedonia, which had been sent thither by Cæsar, on their way towards Parthia, and were now by his orders returning to Italy. He thought himself sure of them, and by their help to be master of the City; but on his arrival at Brundisium on the eighth of October, three of the Legions, to his great surprise, rejected all his offers, and refused to follow him. This affront so enraged him, that calling together all the Centurions, whom he suspected of being the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them to be massacred in his own lodgings, to the number of three hundred, while he and his wife Fulvia stood calmly looking on, to satiate their cruel revenge by the blood of these brave men: after which he marched back towards Rome, by the Appian road, at the head of the single legion, which submitted to him; whilst the other three took their route along the Adriatic coast, without declaring yet for any side ¹⁵⁰.

He returned full of rage both against Octavius and the Republicans, and determined to make what use he could of the remainder of his Consulship, in wresting the Provinces and military commands out of the hands of his enemies, and

distributing them to his friends. He published at the same time several fierce and threatening edicts, in which “ he gave Octavius the name “ of Spartacus, reproached him with the ignobleness of his birth; charged Cicero with being the “ author of all his counsels; abused young Quintus as a perfidious wretch, who had offered to “ kill both his Father and Uncle; forbid three “ of the Tribunes, on pain of death, to appear “ in the Senate, Q. Cassius, the brother of the “ Conspirator, Carfulenus and Canutius ¹⁵¹.” In this humor he summoned the Senate on the twenty-fourth of October, with severe threats to those who should absent themselves; yet he himself neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict to the twenty-eighth: but while all people were in expectation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, to declare young Cæsar a public enemy ¹⁵², he happened to receive the news, that two of the Legions from Brundisium, the fourth, and that which was called the Martial, had actually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves at Alba, in the neighbourhood of Rome ¹⁵³. This shocked him so much, that instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he only huddled over what no body opposed, the decree of a supplication to Lepidus, and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the empire, which few or none of them durst accept from so precarious a title, he changed the habit of the

Consul for that of the General; and left the City with precipitation, to put himself at the head of his army, and possess himself by force of Cisalpine Gaul, assigned to him by a pretended law of the people against the will of the Senate¹⁵⁴.

On the news of his retreat, Cicero presently quitted his books and the Country, and set out towards Rome: he seemed to be called by the voice of the Republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Consul, and scarce a single Prætor in the City, nor any troops, from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the ninth of December, and immediately conferred with Panfa, for Hirtius lay very ill, about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into their Consulship.

Before his leaving the Country, Oppius had been with him, to press him again to undertake the affairs of Octavius, and the protection of his troops: but his answer was, “ that he
“ could not consent to it, unless he were first
“ assured, that Octavius would not only be no
“ enemy, but even a friend to Brutus: that he
“ could be of no service to Octavius till the first
“ of January, and there would be an opportu-
“ nity before that time of trying Octavius’s dis-
“ position in the case of Casca, who had been
“ named by Cæsar to the Tribunate, and was
“ to enter upon it on the tenth of December:
“ for if Octavius did not oppose or disturb his
“ admission, that would be a proof of his good

“ intentions ”¹⁵⁵. ” Oppius undertook for all this on the part of Octavius, and Octavius himself confirmed it, and suffered Casca who gave the first blow to Cæsar, to enter quietly into his office.

The new Tribunes in the mean time, in the absence of the superior Magistrates, called a meeting of the Senate on the nineteenth: Cicero had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new Consuls; but happening to receive the day before, the Edict of D. Brutus, by which he prohibited Antony the entrance of his Province, and declared, that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in its duty to the Senate, he thought it necessary for the public service, and the present encouragement of Brutus, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favor: he went therefore to the Senate very early, which being observed by the other Senators presently drew together a full House, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs¹⁵⁶.

He saw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of Italy, on the success of which depended the fate of Rome: that Gaul would certainly be lost, and with it probably the Republic, if Brutus was not supported against the superior force of Antony: that there was no way of doing it so ready and effectual, as by employing Octavius and his troops: and though the intrusting him with that commission would throw a dangerous power

into his hands, yet it would be controlled by the equal power, and superior authority of the Two Consuls, who were to be joined with him in the same command.

The Senate being assembled, the Tribunes acquainted them, that the business of that meeting was to provide a guard for the security of the new Consuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking the whole state of the Republic into consideration. Upon this Cicero opened the debate, “and represented to them
“the danger of their present condition, and the
“necessity of speedy and resolute counsels against
“an enemy, who lost no time in attempting their
“ruin. That they had been ruined indeed before,
“had it not been for the courage and virtue of
“young Cæsar, who contrary to all expectation,
“and without being even desired to do, what
“no man thought possible for him to do, had,
“by his private authority and expence, raised a
“strong army of Veterans, and baffled the designs
“of Antony; that if Antony had succeeded at
“Brundisium, and prevailed with the legions to
“follow him, he would have filled the City at
“his return with blood and slaughter: that it was
“their part to authorize and confirm what Cæsar
“had done; and to empower him to do more,
“by employing his troops in the farther service
“of the state; and to make a special provision
“also for the two Legions which had declared
“for him against Antony”’. As to D. Brutus,

“ who had promised by Edict to preserve Gaul in
“ the obedience of the Senate, that he was a Ci-
“ tizen, born for the good of the Republic; the
“ imitator of his ancestors; nay, had even ex-
“ ceeded their merit; for the first Brutus expelled
“ a proud King; he a fellow subject far more
“ proud and profligate: that Tarquin, at the
“ same time of his expulsion, was actually making
“ war for the people of Rome; but Antony, on
“ the contrary, had actually begun a war against
“ them. That it was necessary therefore to confirm
“ by public authority, what Brutus had done by
“ private, in preserving the Province of Gaul,
“ the flower of Italy, and the bulwark of the
“ Empire — ”. Then after largely inveighing
“ against Antony’s character, and enumerating
“ particularly all his cruelties and violences, he
“ exhorts them in a pathetic manner, to act with
“ courage in defence of the Republic, or die
“ bravely in the attempt: that now was the time
“ either to recover their liberty, or to live for
“ ever slaves: that if the fatal day was come,
“ and Rome was destined to perish, it would be
“ a shame for them, the Governors of the world,
“ not to fall with as much courage as Gladiators
“ were used to do, and die with dignity, rather
“ than live with disgrace. He puts them in
“ mind of the many advantages, which they
“ had towards encouraging their hopes and re-
“ solution; the body of the people alert and
“ eager in the cause; young Cæsar in the guard
“ of the City; Brutus of Gaul; two Consuls of

“ the greatest prudence, virtue, concord between
“ themselves; who had been meditating nothing
“ else for many months past, but the public tran-
“ quillity: to all which he promises his own
“ attention and vigilance both day and night for
“ their safety¹⁹. On the whole therefore, he
“ gives his vote and opinion, that the new Con-
“ suls, C. Panfa and A. Hirtius, should take care
“ that the Senate may meet with security on the first
“ of January, that D. Brutus, Emperor and Consul
“ elect, had merited greatly of the Republic; by
“ defending the authority and liberty of the Senate
“ and people of Rome: that his army, the Towns
“ and Colonies of his Province, should be pub-
“ licly thanked and praised for their fidelity to
“ him: that it should be declared to be of the
“ last consequence to the Republic, that D. Brutus
“ and L. Plancus (who commanded the farther
“ Gaul) Emperor and Consul elect, as well as all
“ others who had the command of Provinces,
“ should keep them in their duty to the Senate,
“ till Successors were appointed by the Senate:
“ and since by the pains, virtue and conduct of
“ young Cæsar, and the assistance of the veteran
“ soldiers who followed him, the Republic had
“ been delivered, and was still defended from the
“ greatest dangers; and since the martial and fourth
“ Legions, under that excellent Citizen and Quæstor
“ Egnatuleius, had voluntarily declared for the
“ authority of the Senate, and the liberty of the
“ people, that the Senate should take special care

“ that due honors and thanks be paid to them for
“ their eminent services : and that the new Con-
“ suls, on their entrance into office, should make
“ it their first business to see all this executed in
“ proper form : to all which the House unani-
“ mously agreed, and ordered a decree to be
“ drawn conformably to his opinion.”

From the Senate he passed directly to the Forum, and in a speech to the people, gave an account of what had passed : he begins, “ by signifying his
“ joy to see so great a concourse about him, greater
“ than he had ever remembered, a sure omen of
“ their good inclinations, and an encouragement
“ both to his endeavours and his hopes of reco-
“ vering the Republic. Then he repeats with
“ some variation what he had delivered in the
“ Senate, of the praises of Cæsar and Brutus, and
“ the wicked designs of Antony ; that the race
“ of the Brutus was given to them by the special
“ providence of the Gods, for the perpetual de-
“ fenders and deliverers of the Republic¹⁶⁰ : that
“ by what the Senate had decreed, they had in
“ fact, though not in express words, declared
“ Antony a public enemy : that they must con-
“ sider him therefore as such, and no longer as
“ Consul : that they had to deal with an enemy,
“ with whom no terms of peace could be made :
“ who thirsted not so much after their liberty, as
“ their blood : to whom no sport was so agreeable,
“ as to see Citizens butchered before his eyes—
“ That the Gods, however, by portents and pro-
“ digies seemed to foretel his speedy downfall,
since

“ since such a consent and union of all ranks against
“ him could never have been effected, but by a
“ divine influence, &c. ¹⁶¹. ”

These speeches, which stand the third and fourth in the order of his Philippics, were extremely well received both by the Senate and People: speaking afterwards of the latter of them to the same people, he says, if that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you all with one mind and voice cried out, that I had twice saved the Republic ¹⁶². As he had now broken all measures with Antony, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, so he published probably about this time his second Philippic, which had hitherto been communicated only to a few friends, whose approbation it had received.

The short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Consuls, and the defence of the state: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence for the certain news that was brought to Rome, that Antony was actually besieging Modena, into which Brutus, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself with all his forces, as the strongest Town of his Province, and the best provided to sustain a siege. Young Cæsar in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the senate, but with the advice of Cicero, by which he now governed himself in every step, marched out of Rome at the head of his troops, and

followed Antony into the Province: in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions of distressing him; as well as to encourage Brutus to defend himself with vigor, till the Consuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

S E C T. X.

ON the opening of the year, the City was in great expectation, to see what measures their new Consuls would pursue: they had been at school, as it were, all the summer to Cicero, forming the plan of their administration, and taking their lessons of governing from him, and seem to have been brought entirely into his general view, of establishing the peace and liberty of the Republic on the foundation of an Amnesty. But their great obligations to Cæsar and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left some scruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and disposed them to act with more moderation against old friends, than the condition of times would allow; and before the experiment of arms, to try the gentler methods of a treaty. With these sentiments, as soon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the Senate, on the present state of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the security of the public tranquillity. They both spoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as Leaders, in asserting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the assembly to courage and resolution in the defence of so good a cause: and when they had done,

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

they called up Q. Fufius Calenus, to deliver his sentiments the first. He had been Consul four years before by Cæsar's nomination, and was father-in-law to Panfa, which by custom was a sufficient ground for paying him that compliment: Cicero's opinion was already well known; he was for the shortest and readiest way of coming at their end, by declaring Antony a public enemy, and without loss of time acting against him by open force: but this was not relished by the Consuls, who called therefore upon Calenus to speak first; that as he was a fast friend to Antony, and sure to be on the moderate side, he might instil some sentiments of that sort into the Senate, before Cicero had made a contrary impression. Calenus's opinion, therefore, was that before they proceeded to acts of hostility, they should send an embassy to Antony, to admonish him to desist from his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the Senate: Piso and several others were of the same mind, alledging it to be unjust and cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard what he had to say for himself.

But Cicero opposed this motion with great warmth, not only as "vain and foolish, but
"dangerous and pernicious: he declared it dis-
"honorable to treat with any one, who was in
"arms against his country, until he laid them
"down and sued for peace; in which case no
"man would be more moderate or equitable
"than himself: that they had in effect pro-
"claimed him an enemy already, and had

“ nothing left but to confirm it by a decree, when
“ he was besieging one of the great Towns of
“ Italy, a Colony of Rome, and in it their
“ Consul elect, and General Brutus: he observ-
“ ed from what motives those other opinions
“ proceeded; from particular friendships, rela-
“ tions, private obligations; but that a regard
“ to their Country was superior to them all:
“ that the real point before them was, whether
“ Antony should be suffered to oppress the
“ Republic: to mark out whom he pleased to
“ destruction; to plunder the City, and enslave
“ the Citizens — ². That this was his sole
“ view, he showed from a detail not only of
“ his acts but of his express declarations —
“ for he had said in the Temple of Castor, in
“ the hearing of the people, that whenever it
“ came to blows, no man should remain alive,
“ who did not conquer — and in another speech;
“ that when he was out of his Consulship, he
“ would keep an army still about the City, and
“ enter it whenever he thought fit: that in a
“ Letter which Cicero himself had seen, to
“ one of his friends, he bad him to mark out
“ for himself what estate he would have, and
“ whatever it was, he should certainly have
“ it ³: that to talk of sending Ambassadors to
“ such an one, was to betray their ignorance
“ of the constitution of the Republic, the ma-
“ jesty of the Roman people, and the discipline
“ of their ancestors — ⁴ that whatever was the
“ purpose of their message, it would signify

“ nothing: if to beg him to be quiet, he would
“ despise it; if to command him, would not
“ obey it ——— that without any possible good,
“ it would be a certain damage; would neces-
“ sarily create delay, and obstruction to the
“ operations of the war; check the zeal of the
“ army; damp the spirits of the people: whom
“ they now saw so brisk and eager in the cause
“ — that the greatest revolutions of affairs were
“ effected often by trifling incidents; and above
“ all in civil wars, which were generally govern-
“ ed by popular rumor: that how vigorous
“ soever their instructions were to the Amba-
“ sadors, that they would be little regarded:
“ the very name of an Embassy implied a dis-
“ fidence and fear, which was sufficient to cool
“ the ardor of their friends: they might
“ order him to retire from Modena; to quit
“ the Province of Gaul; but this was not to
“ be obtained by words, but extorted by arms
“ ——— that while the Ambassadors were go-
“ ing and coming, people would be in doubt
“ and suspense about the success of their ne-
“ gociation, and under the expectation of a
“ doubtful war, what progress could they hope
“ to make in their levies? — that his opinion
“ therefore was, to make no farther mention
“ of an Embassy; but to enter instantly into
“ action: that there should be a cessation of
“ all civil business; a public tumult proclaim-
“ ed; the shops shut up; and that instead
“ of their usual gown, they should all put on

“ the Sagum, or habit of war: and that levies
“ of soldiers should be made in Rome, and
“ through Italy, without any exception of
“ privilege or dismissal from service——that
“ the very fame of this vigor would restrain
“ the madness of Antony, and let the world
“ see, that the case was not, as he pre-
“ tended, a struggle only of contending par-
“ ties, but a real war against the Common-
“ wealth——that the whole Republic should be
“ committed to the Consuls, to take care, that
“ it received no detriment——that pardon
“ should be offered to those of Antony’s army,
“ who should return to their duty before the first
“ of February——that if they did not come to
“ this Resolution now, they would be forced to
“ do it afterwards, when it would be too late
“ perhaps, or less effectual.”

This was the sum of what he advised as to their conduct towards Antony: he next proceeded to the other subject of their debate; the honors which were ordered to be decreed at their last meeting; and began with D. Brutus, as Consul elect; in favor of whom, besides many high expressions of praise, he proposed a decree to this effect——“ Whereas D. Brutus, Emperor,
“ Consul elect, now holds the province of Gaul
“ in the power of the Senate and people of
“ Rome; and by the chearful assistance of the
“ Towns and Colonies of his Province, has
“ drawn together a great army in a short time;
“ that he has done all this rightly and regularly,

“ and for the service of the state: and that it is
“ the sense therefore of the Senate and People,
“ that the Republic has been relieved in a most
“ difficult conjuncture, by the pains, counsel,
“ virtue of D. Brutus, Emperor, Consul elect,
“ and by the incredible zeal and concurrence of
“ the Province of Gaul.” He moved also for
an extraordinary honor to M. Lepidus, who had
no pretension to it indeed from past services, but
being now at the head of the best army in the
Empire, was in a condition to do the most good
or ill to them of any man. This was the ground
of the compliment; for his faith being suspected,
and his union with Antony dreaded, Cicero,
hoped, by this testimony of their confidence, to
confirm him in the interests of the Senate: but
he seems to be hard put to it for a pretext of
merit to ground his decree upon: he takes no-
tice, “ that Lepidus was always moderate in
“ power, and a friend to liberty: that he gave
“ a signal proof of it, when Antony offered the
“ Diadem to Cæsar; for by turning away his
“ face, he publicly testified his aversion to slave-
“ ry, and that his compliance with the times
“ was through necessity, not choice — that since
“ Cæsar’s death he had practised the same mo-
“ deration: and when a bloody war was revived
“ in Spain, chose to put an end to it by the me-
“ thods of prudence and humanity, rather than
“ by arms and the sword, and consented to the
“ restoration of S. Pompey’.” For which
“ reason he proposed the following Decree —

“ Whereas the Republic has often been well and
“ happily administered by M. Lepidus, the chief
“ Priest; and the people of Rome have always
“ found him to be an enemy to kingly govern-
“ ment; and whereas by his endeavours, virtue,
“ wisdom, and his singular clemency and mild-
“ nefs, a most dreadful civil war is extinguish-
“ ed; and S. Pompey the Great, the Son of
“ Cnæus, out of respect to the authority of the
“ Senate, has quitted his arms, and is restored
“ to the City; that the Senate and People, out
“ of regard to the many and signal services of
“ M. Lepidus, Emperor, and chief Priest, place
“ great hopes of their peace, concord, liberty,
“ in his virtue, authority, felicity; and from
“ a grateful sense of his merits, decree, that a
“ gilt Equestrian statue shall be erected to
“ him by their order in the Rostra, or any
“ other part of the Forum, which he shall
“ chuse — ” He comes next to young Cæsar;
and after enlarging on his praises, proposes,
“ that they should grant him a proper com-
“ mission and command over his Troops, with-
“ out which he could be of no use to them;
“ and that he should have the rank and all the
“ rights of a Proprætor; not only for the sake
“ of his dignity, but the necessary manage-
“ ment of their affairs, and the administration of
“ the war. ” — And then offers the form of a
Decree — “ Whereas C. Cæsar, the Son of
“ Caius, Priest, Proprætor, has, in the utmost
“ distress of the Republic, excited and insisted

“ Veteran Troops to defend the liberty of the
“ Roman people; and whereas the Martial and
“ fourth legions, under the leading and au-
“ thority of C. Cæsar, have defended, and
“ now defend the Republic, and the liberty of
“ the Roman people; and whereas C. Cæsar is
“ gone at the head of his army to protect the
“ Province of Gaul; has drawn together a bo-
“ dy of horse, archers, Elephants, under his
“ own and the people’s power; and in the most
“ dangerous crisis of the Republic, has sup-
“ ported the safety and dignity of the Roman
“ people, for these reasons the Senate decrees,
“ that C. Cæsar, the Son of Caius, Priest,
“ Proprætor, be henceforward a Senator, and
“ vote in the rank and place of a Prætor; and
“ that in soliciting for any future Magistracy,
“ the same regard be had to him, as would
“ have been had by law, if he had been
“ Quæstor the year before — ” As to those
who thought these honors too great for so
young a man, and apprehended danger from
his abuse of them, he declares “ their appre-
“ hensions to be the effect of envy, rather than
“ fear; since the nature of things was such,
“ that he, who had once got a taste of true
“ glory, and found himself universally dear to
“ the Senate and people, could never think
“ any other acquisition equal to it; he wishes
“ that J. Cæsar had taken the same course,
“ when young, of endearing himself to the
“ Senate and honest men; but by neglecting

“ that , he spent the force of his great genius
“ in acquiring a vain popularity ; and having
“ no regard to the Senate and the better sort,
“ opened himself a way to power, which the
“ virtue of a free people could not bear —
“ that there was nothing of this kind to be
“ feared from the Son ; nor after the proof of
“ such admirable prudence in a boy, any ground
“ to imagine that his riper age would be less
“ prudent — for what greater folly could there
“ be, than to prefer an useless power, an in-
“ vidious greatness, the lust of reigning, always
“ slippery and tottering, to true, weighty, solid
“ glory ? — if they suspected him as an enemy
“ to some of their best and most valued Citizens,
“ they might lay aside those fears ; he had given
“ up all his resentments to the Republic ; made
“ her the Moderatrix of all his acts — that he
“ knew the most inward sentiments of the youth ;
“ would pawn his credit for him to the Senate
“ and People ; would promise , engage , under-
“ take, that he would always be the same that
“ he now was ; such as they should wish and
“ desire to see him — ¹⁰. He proceeds also to
“ give a public testimonial of praise and thanks
“ to L. Egnatuleius, for his fidelity to the Re-
“ public , in bringing over the fourth Legion
“ from Antony to Cæsar ; and moves, that it
“ might be granted to him for that piece of
“ service, to sue for and hold any magistracy
“ three years before the legal time — ¹¹. Lastly,
“ as to the Veteran Troops, which had followed

“ the Authority of Cæsar and the Senate, and
“ especially the Martial, and Fourth Legions,
“ he moved, that an exemption from service
“ should be decreed to them and their children,
“ except in the case of a Gallic or domestic tu-
“ mult; and that the Consuls C. Pansa and A. Hir-
“ tius, or one of them, should provide lands in
“ Campania, or elsewhere to be divided to them;
“ and that as soon as the present war was over,
“ they should all be discharged, and punctually
“ receive whatever sums of money C. Cæsar had
“ promised to them when they first declared for
“ him. ” —

This was the substance of his speech; in the latter part of which, the proposal of honors, the Senate readily agreed with him: and though those which were decreed to Octavius, seemed so extraordinary to Cicero himself, that he thought it proper to make an apology for them; yet there were others of the first rank who thought them not great enough; so that Philippus added the honor of a Statue; Ser. Sulpicius, and Servilius, the privilege of suing for any Magistracy, still earlier than Cicero had proposed¹². But the assembly was much divided about the main question, of sending a deputation to Antony: some of the principal Senators were warmly for it; and the Consuls themselves favored it, and artfully avoided to put it to the vote¹³; which would otherwise have been carried by Cicero, who had a clear majority on his side. The debate being held on till night, was

adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the same warmth for three days successively, while the Senate continued all the time in Cicero's opinion, and would have passed a decree conformable to it, had not Salvius the Tribune put his negative upon them¹⁴. This firmness of Antony's friends prevailed at last for an Embassy; and three Consular Senators were presently nominated to it, S. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus: but their commission was strictly limited, and drawn up by Cicero himself; giving them no power to treat with Antony, but to carry to him only the peremptory commands of the Senate, to quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul: they had instructions likewise, after the delivery of their message, to speak with D. Brutus in Modena, and signify to him and his army, that the Senate and People had a grateful Sense of their Services, which would one day be a great honor to them¹⁵.

The unusual length of these debates greatly raised the curiosity of the City, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the issue; where, as they had done also not long before, they could not forbear calling out upon Cicero with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations¹⁶. He went therefore directly from the Senate into the Rostra, produced by Appuleius, the Tribune, and acquainted them in a speech with the result of their debates, — “that the Senate, excepting a

“ few , after they had stood firm for three days
“ to his opinion , had given it up at last , with less
“ gravity indeed than became them , yet not
“ meanly or shamefully , having decreed not so
“ much an Embassy as a denunciation of war to
“ Antony , if he did not obey it : which carried
“ indeed an appearance of severity ; and he wished
“ only that it had carried no delay — that Antony ,
“ he was sure , would never obey it , nor ever
“ submit to their power , who had never been in
“ his own — that he would do therefore in that
“ place what he had been doing in the Senate ;
“ testify , warn , and declare to them before-hand ,
“ that Antony would perform no part of what their
“ Ambassadors were sent to require of him —
“ that he would still waste the country , besiege
“ Modena , and not suffer the Ambassadors
“ themselves to enter the Town , or speak with
“ Brutus — believe me , ” says he , “ I know the
“ violence , the impudence , the audaciousness of
“ the man — let our Ambassadors then make
“ haste , which I know they are resolved to do ;
“ but do you prepare your military habit ; for
“ it is a part also of our decree , that if he does
“ not comply , we must all put on that garb :
“ we shall certainly put it on : he will never
“ obey ; we shall lament the loss of so many
“ days which might have been employed in
“ action — ”. I am not afraid , when he comes
“ to hear , how I have declared this before-hand ,
“ that for the sake of confuting me , he should
“ change his mind , and submit. He will never

“ do it ; will not envy me this glory ; will chuse
“ rather , that you should think me wise , than
“ him modest ” — he observes , that though it
“ would have been better to send no message ,
“ yet some good would flow from it to the
“ Republic ; for when the Ambassadors shall make
“ the report , which they surely will make , of
“ Antony’s refusal to obey the People and Senate ,
“ who can be so perverse , as to look upon him
“ any longer as a Citizen ? — Wherefore wait ,”
says he , “ with patience , Citizens , the return of
“ the Ambassadors , and digest the inconvenience
“ of a few days : if on their return they bring peace ,
“ call me prejudiced ; if war , provident ¹³. ” —
Then after assuring them , “ of his perpetual
“ vigilance for their safety , and applauding their
“ wonderful alacrity in the cause , and declaring ,
“ that of all the assemblies which he had seen ,
“ he had never known so full an one as the
“ present , ” he thus concludes , “ The season of
“ liberty is now come , my Citizens , much later
“ indeed than became the people of Rome ; but
“ so ripe now , that it cannot be deferred a
“ moment. What we have hitherto suffered was
“ owing to a kind of fatality , which we have
“ born as well as we could ; but if any such case
“ should happen again , it must be owing to
“ ourselves : it is not possible for the people of
“ Rome to be slaves , whom the Gods have
“ destined to the command of all nations : the
“ affair is now reduced to the last extremity ;
“ the struggle is for liberty ; it is your part

“ either to conquer , which will surely be the
“ fruit of your piety and concord , or to suffer
“ any thing rather than live slaves : other nations
“ may endure slavery ; but the proper end and
“ business of the Roman people is liberty.”

The Ambassadors prepared themselves immediately to execute their Commission , and the next morning early set forwards towards Antony , though Ser. Sulpicius was in a very declining state of health. Various were the speculations about the success of this message : but Antony gained one certain advantage by it , of more time , either to press the siege of Modena , or to take such measures as fresh accidents might offer : nor were his friends without hopes of drawing from it some pretence for opening a treaty with him ; so as to give room to the chiefs of the Cæsarian Faction to unite themselves against the Senate and Republican party ; which seemed to be inspired by Cicero with a resolution of extinguishing all the remains of the late Tyranny. For this purpose the Partisans of that cause were endeavouring to obviate the offence , which might be given by Antony’s refusal to comply with what was enjoined ; contriving specious answers for him , and representing them as a reasonable ground of an accommodation , in hopes to cool the ardor of the City for the prosecution of the war : Calenus was at the head of this party , who kept a constant correspondence with Antony , and took care to publish such of his Letters , as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of
his

his adversaries , and keep up the spirits of his friends ¹⁹.

Cicero therefore, at a meeting of the Senate, called in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form , took occasion to rouse the zeal of the assembly , by warning them of the mischief of these insinuations. He observed , “ that the
“ affairs then proposed to their deliberation were
“ of little consequence , though necessary in the
“ common course of public business , about the
“ Appian way , the coin , the Luperci , which
“ would easily be adjusted ; but that his mind
“ was called off from the consideration of them
“ by the more important concerns of the Re-
“ public — that he had always been afraid of
“ sending the Embassy — and now every body
“ saw what a languor the expectation of it had
“ caused in people’s minds ; and what a handle
“ it had given to the practices of those , who
“ grieved to see the Senate recovering its an-
“ cient authority : the people united with them ;
“ all Italy on the same side ; the armies prepared ;
“ their generals ready to take the field — who
“ feign answers for Antony , and applaud them ,
“ as if they had sent Ambassadors not to give ,
“ but receive conditions from him.” — Then after exposing the danger and iniquity of such practices , and rallying the principal abettor of them , Calenus , he adds , “ that he , who all his life had been the
“ author and promoter of civil peace ; who owed
“ whatever he was , whatever he had to it ; his
“ honors, interest, dignity ; nay , even the talents

“ and abilities which he was master of; yet I, ”
says he, “ the perpetual adviser of peace, am for no
“ peace with Antony. ” — where perceiving himself
to be heard with great attention — he proceeds to
explain at large through the rest of his speech,
“ that such a peace would be dishonorable,
“ dangerous, and could not possibly subsist — ”
he exhorts the Senate therefore “ to be attentive,
“ prepared and armed before-hand; so as not to
“ be caught by a smooth or suppliant answer,
“ and the false appearance of equity: that Antony
“ must do every thing which was prescribed to
“ him, before he could pretend to ask any thing;
“ if not, that it was not the Senate which pro-
“ claimed war against him, but he against the
“ Roman people. But for you, Fathers, I give
“ you warning, ” says he, “ the question before
“ you concerns the liberty of the people of
“ Rome, which is intrusted to your care; it
“ concerns the lives and fortunes of every honest
“ man; it concerns your own authority, which
“ you will for ever lose, if you do not retrieve
“ it now — I admonish you too, Pansa; for
“ though you want no advice, in which you
“ excel, yet the best Pilots in great storms are
“ sometimes admonished by passengers; never
“ suffer that noble provision of arms and troops
“ which you have made, to come to nothing;
“ you have such an opportunity before you as
“ no man ever had: by this firmness of the
“ Senate, this alacrity of the Equestrian order,
“ this ardor of the people, you have it in your

“ power to free the Republic for ever from fear
“ and danger — ²⁰. ”

The Consuls in the mean while were taking care, that the expectation of the effect of the Embassy should not supersede their preparations for war ; and agreed between themselves , that one of them should march immediately to Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great success both in the City , and the Country : for all the capital Towns of Italy , were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and soldiers; and in decrees of infamy and disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service ²¹. The first part fell by lot to Hirtius ²² ; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indisposition, marched away without loss of time at the head of a brave army ; and particularly of the two Legions , the Martial and the fourth, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole , and now put themselves under the command and auspices of the Consul. With these, in conjunction with Octavius , he hoped to obstruct all the designs of Antony , and prevent his gaining any advantage against Brutus, till Panfa could join them, which would make them superior in force , and enable them to give him battle , with good assurance of victory. He contented himself in the mean while with dispossessing Antony of some of his posts ; and distressing him, by straitening his quarters, and opportunities

of forage ; in which he had some success, as he signified in a Letter to his Colleague Panfa, which was communicated to the Senate ; I have possessed myself, says he, of Claterna, and driven out Antony's garrison : his horse were routed in the action, and some of them slain²³ : and in all his Letters to Cicero, he assured him, that he would undertake nothing, without the greatest caution ; in answer probably, to what Cicero was constantly inculcating, not to expose himself too forwardly, till Panfa could come up to him²⁴.

The Ambassadors returned about the beginning of February, having been retarded somewhat longer than they intended, by the death of Ser. Sulpicius ; which happening when they were just arrived at Antony's camp, left the Embassy maimed and imperfect, as Cicero says, by the loss of the best and ablest man of the three²⁵. The report, which they made to the Senate, answered exactly in every point to what Cicero had foretold ; that Antony would perform no part of what was required, nor suffer them even to speak with Brutus, but continued to batter the Town with great fury in their presence : he offered, however, some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the Senate : the purport of them was, " that the Senate should assign lands and rewards " to all his troops, and confirm all the other " grants, which he and Dolabella had made in

“ their Consulship : that all his decrees from
“ Cæsar’s books and papers should stand firm :
“ that no account should be demanded of the
“ money taken from the Temple of Opis ; nor
“ any inquiry made into the conduct of the seven
“ Commissioners , created to divide the lands to
“ the Veteran soldiers ; and that his judiciary law
“ should not be repealed : on these terms he offered
“ to give up Cisalpine Gaul , provided , that he
“ might have the greater Gaul in exchange for
“ five years , with an army of six Legions , to
“ be completed out of the troops of D. Brutus ²⁶ .”

Pansa summoned the Senate to consider the report of the Ambassadors ; which raised a general indignation through the City , and gave all possible advantage to Cicero , towards bringing the house into his sentiments : but contrary to expectation , he found Calenus’s party still strong enough to give him much trouble , and even to carry some points against him ; all tending to soften the rigor of his motions , and give them a turn more favorable towards Antony. He moved the Senate to decree , that a war or rebellion was actually commenced : they carried it for a tumult : he urged them , to declare Antony an enemy : they carried it for a softer term , of adversary ²⁷ : he proposed , that all persons should be prohibited from going to Antony : they excepted Varius Cotyla , one of his Lieutenants , who was then in the Senate , taking notes of every thing which passed : in these votes Pansa himself , and all the Consular Senators concurred ; even L. Cæsar , who , though

a true friend to liberty, yet being Antony's Uncle, thought himself obliged by decency, to vote on the milder side ²⁸.

But Cicero in his turn easily threw out, what was warmly pressed on the other side, the proposal of a second Embassy; and carried likewise the main question, of requiring the Citizens to change their ordinary gown, for the Sagum or habit of war: by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. In all decrees of this kind, the Consular Senators, on the account of their dignity, were excused from changing their habit; but Cicero, to inculcate more sensibly the distress of the Republic, resolved to waive his privilege, and wear the same robe with the rest of the City ²⁹. In a Letter to Cassius, he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time: "We have excellent
" Consuls, but most shameful Consulars: a brave
" Senate; but the lower they are in dignity, the
" braver: nothing firmer and better than the
" people, and all Italy universally: but nothing
" more detestable and infamous, than our Amba-
" sadors, Philip and Piso: who, when sent only
" to carry the orders of the Senate to Antony,
" none of which he would comply with, brought
" back, of their own accord, intolerable demands
" from him: wherefore all the world now flock
" about me; and I am grown popular in a
" salutary cause, &c. ³⁰."

The Senate met again the next day, to draw into form, and perfect what had been resolved upon in the preceding debate: when Cicero, in

a pathetic speech, took occasion to expostulate with them for their imprudent lenity the day before: "He showed the absurdity of their scruples about voting a civil war: that the word Tumult, which they had preferred, either carried in it no real difference, or if any, implied a greater perturbation of all things³¹: he proved from every step that Antony had taken, and was taking; from every thing which the Senate, the People, the Towns of Italy were doing and decreeing against him, that they were truly and properly in a state of civil war; the fifth which had happened in their memory, and the most desperate of them all, being the first which was ever raised, not by a dissension of parties contending for a superiority in the Republic, but against an union of all parties, to enslave and oppress the Republic³². He proceeds to expostulate with Calenus, for his obstinate adherence to Antony, and expose the weakness of his pretended plea for it; a love of peace, and concern for the lives of the Citizens—he puts him in mind, that there was no juster cause of taking arms, than to repel slavery; that several other causes indeed were just, but this necessary: unless he did not take himself to be affected by it, for the hopes of sharing the dominion with Antony: if so, he was doubly mistaken; first for preferring a private interest to the public; secondly, for thinking any thing secure, or worth enjoying in a Tyranny — that a regard for the safety of Citi-

“ zens was a laudable principle, if he meant the
“ good, the useful, the friends to their country;
“ but if he meant to save those, who, though
“ Citizens by nature, were enemies by choice:
“ what difference was there between him and such
“ Citizens? — that their Ancestors had quite
“ another notion of the care of Citizens; and
“ when Scipio Nasica slew Tiberius Gracchus,
“ when Opimius slew Caius Gracchus, when
“ Marius killed Saturninus, they were all fol-
“ lowed by the greatest and the best both of
“ the Senate and the People — that the differ-
“ ence between Calenus’s opinion and his was not
“ trifling, or about a trifling matter; the wish-
“ ing well only to this or that man; that
“ he wished well to Brutus; Calenus to An-
“ tony; he wished to see a Colony of Rome pre-
“ served; Calenus to see it stormed: that Cale-
“ nus could not deny this, who was contriving
“ all sorts of delay, which could distress Brutus
“ and strengthen Antony — ” He then addressed
“ himself to the other Consulars, and reproached
“ them for their shameful behaviour the day before,
“ in voting for a second Embassy, and said, that
“ when the Ambassadors were sent against his
“ judgment, he comforted himself with ima-
“ gining, that as soon as they should return,
“ despised and rejected by Antony, and inform
“ the Senate, that he would neither retire from
“ Gaul, nor quit the siege of Modena, nor even
“ suffer them to speak with Brutus; that out of
“ indignation they should all arm themselves

“ immediately in the defence of Brutus; but on
“ the contrary, they were grown more dispirit-
“ ed to hear of Antony’s audaciousness; and
“ their Ambassadors, instead of courage, which
“ they ought to have brought, had brought
“ back nothing but fear to them — ”. Good
“ Gods,” says he, “ what is become of the virtue
“ of our Ancestors? — When Popilius was sent
“ Ambassador to Antiochus, and ordered him,
“ in the name of the Senate, to depart from
“ Alexandria, which he was then besieging;
“ upon the King’s deferring to answer, and
“ contriving delays, he drew a circle round him
“ with his staff, and bad him give his answer
“ instantly, before he stirred out of that place,
“ or he would return to the Senate without
“ it — he then recites and ridicules the several
“ demands made by Antony; their arrogance,
“ stupidity, absurdity: and ” reproves Piso and
“ Philip, men of such dignity, for the meanness
“ of bringing back conditions, when they were
“ sent only to carry commands — he complains,
“ that they paid more respect to Antony’s Amba-
“ sador, Cotyla, than he to theirs: for instead
“ of shutting the gates of the City against him,
“ as they ought to have done, they admitted him
“ into that very Temple where the Senate then
“ sat; where, the day before, he was taking notes
“ of what every man said, and was caressed,
“ invited and entertained by some of the princi-
“ pal Senators, who had too little regard to
“ their dignity, too much to their danger. But

“ what after all was the danger? which must
“ end either in liberty or death, the one always
“ defirable, the other unavoidable: while to fly
“ from death basely, was worse than death itself—
“ that it used to be the character of consular
“ Senators, to be vigilant, attentive, always think-
“ ing, doing, or proposing something for the
“ good of the public: that he remembered old
“ Scævola in the Marfic war, how in the extre-
“ mity of age, oppressed with years and infirmi-
“ ties, he gave free access to every body; was
“ never seen in his bed; always the first in the
“ Senate: he wished that they all would imitate
“ such industry; or at least not envy those who
“ did ”: that since they had now suffered a six
“ years slavery, a longer term than honest and
“ industrious slaves used to serve; what watchings,
“ what solicitude, what pains ought they to refuse,
“ for the sake of giving liberty to the Roman
“ people?” He concludes, by adding a clause to
their last decree; “ to grant pardon and impunity
“ to all who should desert Antony, and return to
“ their duty by the fifteenth of March: or if any
“ who continued with him, should do any service
“ worthy of reward; that one or both the Con-
“ suls should take the first opportunity to move
“ the Senate in their favor: but if any person
“ from this time should go over to Antony,
“ except Cotyla, that the Senate would confi-
“ der him as an enemy to his country. ”

The public debates being thus adjusted, Pansa called the Senate together again the next day,

to deliberate on some proper honors to be decreed to the memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who died upon the Embassy — he spoke largely in his praise, and advised to pay him all the honors, which had ever been decreed to any, who had lost their lives in the service of the country: a public funeral, sepulchre, and statue. Servilius, who spoke next, agreed to a funeral and monument, but was against a statue, as due only to those, who had been killed by violence, in the discharge of their Embassies. Cicero was not content with this, but out of private friendship to the man, as well as a regard to the public service, resolved to have all the honors paid to him, which the occasion could possibly justify: in answer therefore to Servilius, he showed with his usual eloquence, that “ the case of Sulpicius was the same
“ with the case of those, who had been killed
“ on the account of their Embassies: that
“ the Embassy itself had killed him: that he set
“ out upon it in so weak a condition, that though
“ he had some hopes of coming to Antony, he
“ had none of returning: and when he was
“ just arrived to the congress, expired in the
“ very act of executing his Commission ”: that
“ it was not the manner, but the cause of the
“ death, which their Ancestors regarded: if it was
“ caused by the Embassy, they granted a public
“ monument, to encourage their fellow Citizens,
“ in dangerous wars, to undertake that employ-
“ ment with chearfulness: that several statues had
“ been erected on that account; which none had

“ ever merited better than Sulpicius — that there
“ could be no doubt, but that the Embassy had
“ killed him ; and that he had carried out death
“ along with him , which he might have escaped
“ by staying at home , under the care of his wife
“ and children — ³⁸. But when he saw , that if
“ he did not obey the authority of the Senate,
“ he should be unlike to himself ; and if he did
“ obey , must necessarily lose his life ; he chose in
“ so critical a state of the Republic , rather to die,
“ than seem to decline any service , which he could
“ possibly to : that he had many opportunities
“ of refreshing and reposing himself in the Cities,
“ through which he passed , and was pressed to
“ it by his Colleagues ; but in spite of his distem-
“ per , persevered to death in the resolution of
“ urging his journey , and hastening to perform
“ the commands of the Senate — that , if they
“ recollected , how he endeavoured to excuse
“ himself from the task , when it was first moved
“ in the Senate , they must needs think , that this
“ honor to him , when dead , was but a necessary
“ amends for the injury , which they had done
“ to him , when living : for , though it was
“ harsh to be said , yet he must say it ; that it
“ was they , who had killed him , by over-ruling
“ his excuse , when they saw it grounded , not
“ on a feigned , but a real sickness : and when
“ to their remonstrance , the Consul Panfa join-
“ ed his exhortation , with a gravity and force of
“ speech , which his ears had not learnt to bear ;
“ then ,” says he , “ he took his Son and me aside,

“ and professed, that he could not help preferring
“ your authority to his own life: we, through
“ admiration of his virtue, durst not venture to
“ oppose his will: his Son was tenderly moved,
“ nor was my concern much less; yet both of
“ us were obliged to give way to the greatness
“ of his mind, and the force of his reasoning;
“ when to the joy of you all he promised, that
“ he would do whatever you prescribed, nor
“ would decline the danger of that vote, of which
“ he himself had been the proposer — restore life
“ therefore to him, from whom you have taken
“ it: for the life of the dead is in the memory of
“ the living: take care, that he, whom you un-
“ willingly sent to his death, receive an immor-
“ tality from you: for if you decree a statue to
“ him in the Rostra, the remembrance of his Em-
“ bassy will remain to all posterity — ” Then
after illustrating the great virtues, talents, and
excellent character of Sulpicius, he observes,
“ that all these would be perpetuated by their
“ own merit and effects, and that the statue was
“ the monument rather of the gratitude of the
“ Senate than of the fame of the man; of a public,
“ rather than of a private signification; an eternal
“ testimony of Antony’s audaciousness; of his
“ waging an impious war against his country; of
“ his rejecting the Embassy of the Senate — ”
For which reasons, he proposed a decree, “ that
“ a statue of brass should be erected to him in
“ the Rostra, by order of the Senate, and the
“ cause inscribed on the base; that he died in the

“ service of the Republic; with an area of five
“ feet on all sides of it, for his children and poste-
“ rity to see the shows of Gladiators — that
“ a magnificent funeral should be made for him
“ at the public charge; and the Consul Panfa
“ should assign him a place of burial, in the
“ Esquiline field, with an area of thirty feet
“ every way, to be granted publicly, as a sepul-
“ chre for him, his children and posterity. ” —

The Senate agreed to what Cicero desired; and the statue itself, as we are told by a writer of the third Century, remained to his time, in the Rostra of Augustus ⁴¹.

Sulpicius was of a noble and patrician family, of the same age, the same studies, and the same principles with Cicero, with whom he kept up a perpetual friendship. They went through their exercises together when young, both at Rome, and at Rhodes, in the celebrated school of Molo: whence he became an eminent Pleader of causes, and passed through all the great offices of the state, with a singular reputation of wisdom, learning, integrity; a constant admirer of the modesty of the ancients; and a reprover of the insolence of his own time. When he could not arrive at the first degree of fame, as an Orator, he resolved to excel in what was next to it, the character of a Lawyer; chusing rather to be the first, in the second art, than the second only in the first: leaving therefore to his friend Cicero the field of eloquence, he contented himself with such a share of it, as was sufficient to sustain and adorn the profession of the law. In this he succeeded to his wish;

and was far superior to all, who had ever professed it in Rome; being the first, who reduced it to a proper science, or rational System; and added light and method to that, which all others before him, had taught darkly and confusedly. Nor was his knowledge confined to the external forms, or the effects of the Municipal Laws: but enlarged by a comprehensive view of universal equity which he made the interpreter of its functions, and the rule of all his decisions; yet he was always better pleased to put an amicable end to a controversy, than to direct a process at law. In his political behaviour he was always a friend to peace and liberty; moderating the violence of opposite parties, and discouraging every step towards civil dissension; and, in the late war, was so busy in contriving projects of an accommodation, that he gained the name of the Peace-Maker. Through a natural timidity of temper, confirmed by a profession and course of life averse from arms, though he preferred Pompey's cause as the best, he did not care to fight for it; but taking Cæsar's to be the strongest, suffered his son to follow that camp, while he himself continued quiet and neuter: for this he was honored by Cæsar, yet could never be induced to approve his government. From the time of Cæsar's death, he continued still to advise and promote all measures, which seemed likely to establish the public concord; and died at last, as he had lived, in the very act and office of peace-making⁴².

The Senate had heard nothing of Brutus and

Cassius from the time of their leaving Italy, till Brutus now sent public Letters to the Consuls, giving a particular account of his success against
“ Antony’s brother Caius, in securing Macedonia,
“ Illyricum, and Greece, with all the several
“ armies in those countries to the interests of the
“ Republic: that C. Antony was retired to Apol-
“ lonia, with seven cohorts; where a good account
“ would soon be given of him: that a Legion
“ under L. Piso had surrendered itself to young
“ Cicero, the Commander of his Horse: that
“ Dolabella’s Horse, which was marching in two
“ separate bodies towards Syria, the one in Thes-
“ saly, the other in Macedonia had deserted their
“ Leaders, and joined themselves to him: that
“ Vatinius had opened the gates of Dyrrhachium
“ to him, and given up the Town with his troops
“ into his hands: that in all these transactions,
“ Q. Hortensius, the Proconsul of Macedonia,
“ had been particularly serviceable, in disposing
“ the Provinces and their armies to declare for
“ the cause of liberty “.”

Pansa no sooner received the letters, than he summoned the Senate, to acquaint them with the contents; which raised an incredible joy through the whole City “: after the letters were read, Pansa spoke largely in the praises of Brutus; extolled his conduct and services; and moved, that public honors and thanks should be decreed to him: and then according to his custom, called upon his Father-in-law Calenus, to declare his sentiments the first: who, in a premeditated speech, delivered
from

from writing, “acknowledged Brutus’s letters to
“be well and properly drawn; but since what he
“had done, was done without any commission
“and public authority, that he should be required
“to deliver up his forces to the orders of the
“Senate, or the proper Governors of the Provin-
“ces — ⁴⁵.” Cicero spoke next, and began “with
“giving the thanks of the House to Panfa, for
“calling them together on that day, when they
“had no expectation of it; and not deferring a
“moment to give them a share of the joy, which
“Brutus’s letters had brought. He observes, that
“Panfa, by speaking so largely in the praise of
“Brutus, had shown that to be true, which he had
“always taken to be so, that no man ever envied
“another’s virtue, who was conscious of his own:
“that he had prevented him, to whom, for his
“intimacy with Brutus, the task seemed particu-
“larly to belong, from saying so much, as he
“intended, on that subject” — then addressing
himself to Calenus, he asks, “What could be the
“meaning of that perpetual war, which he declared
“against the Brutus? why he alone was always
“opposing, when every one else was almost
“adoring them? — that to talk of Brutus’s letters
“being rightly drawn, was not to praise Brutus,
“but his secretary — when did he ever hear of a
“decree in that style, that Letters were properly
“written: yet the expression did not fall from
“him by chance, but was designed, premeditated,
“and brought in writing — ⁴⁶. He exhorts him to
“consult with his son-in-law, Panfa, oftener than

“ with himself, if he would preserve his character:
“ professes that he could not help pitying him,
“ to hear it given out among the people, that
“ there was not a second vote on the side of him,
“ who gave the first; which would be the case,
“ he believed, in that day’s debate. You would
“ take away,” says he, “ the Legions from Brutus,
“ even those which he has drawn off from the
“ traiterous designs of C. Antony, and engaged
“ by his own authority in the public service: you
“ would have him sent once more, as it were,
“ into Banishment, naked and forlorn: but for
“ you, Fathers, if ever you betray, or desert
“ Brutus, what Citizen will you honor? whom
“ will you favor? unless you think those, who
“ offer Kingly Diadems, worthy to be preserved;
“ those who abolish the name of King, to be
“ abandoned. He proceeds to display with great
“ force the merit and praises of Brutus: his mode-
“ ration, mildness, patience of injuries: how
“ studiously he had avoided every step, which
“ could give a handle to civil tumults; quitting
“ the City; living retired in the Country; forbid-
“ ding the resort of friends to him; and leaving
“ Italy itself, lest any cause of war should arise
“ on his account — that as long as he saw the
“ Senate disposed to bear every thing, he was
“ resolved to bear too; but when he perceived
“ them inspired with a spirit of liberty, he then ex-
“ erted himself to provide them succours to defend
“ it — ⁴⁷ that if he had not defeated the desperate
“ attempts of C. Antony, they had lost Macedonia,

“ Illyricum, and Greece; the last of which afforded
“ either a commodious retreat to Antony, when
“ driven out of Italy, or the best opportunity of
“ invading it: which now, by Brutus’s manage-
“ ment, being strongly provided with troops,
“ stretched out it’s arms, as it were, and offered
“ it’s help to Italy ⁴⁸.” — “ That Caius’s march
“ through the Provinces was, to plunder the allies,
“ to scatter waste and desolation wherever he
“ passed, to employ the armies of the Roman
“ People against the people themselves: whereas
“ Brutus made it a law, wheresoever he came, to
“ dispense light, hope, and security to all around
“ him: in short, that the one gathered forces to
“ preserve, the other to overturn the Republic:
“ the soldiers themselves could judge of this, as well
“ as the Senate; as they had declared, by their
“ desertion of C. Antony, who by that time either
“ was, or would soon be Brutus’s prisoner ⁴⁹ —
“ that there was no apprehension of danger from
“ Brutus’s power; that his Legions, his Mercena-
“ ries, his Horse, and above all, himself was wholly
“ theirs; formed for the service of the Republic,
“ as well as by his own excellent virtue, as a kind
“ of fatality derived from his Ancestors, both on
“ the Father’s and the Mother’s side — that none
“ could ever blame him for any thing, unless for
“ too great a backwardness and aversion to war;
“ and his not humoring the ardor of all Italy in
“ their eager thirst of liberty — that it was a vain
“ fear, which some pretended to entertain, that
“ the Veterans would be disgusted to see Brutus

“ at the head of an army ; as if there were any
“ difference between his army , and the armies of
“ Hirtius , Panfa , D. Brutus , Octavius ; all which
“ had severally received public honors for their
“ defence of the people of Rome : that M. Brutus
“ could not be more suspected by the Veterans ,
“ than Decimus ; for though the act of the Brutus ,
“ and the praise of it was common to them both ,
“ yet those , who disapproved it , were more angry
“ with Decimus ; as thinking him , of all others ,
“ the last , who ought to have done it ; yet what
“ were all their armies now doing , but relieving
“ Decimus from the siege ? ” — that if there was
“ any real danger from Brutus , Panfa’s sagacity
“ would easily find it out : but as they had just
“ now heard from his own mouth , he was so far
“ from thinking his army to be dangerous , that
“ he looked upon it as the firmest support of the
“ Commonwealth ” — that it was the constant art
“ of the disaffected , to oppose the name of the
“ Veterans to every good design : that he was
“ always ready to encourage their valor , but
“ would never endure their arrogance. Shall we , ”
says he , “ who are now breaking off the shackles
“ of our servitude , be discouraged , if any one
“ tells us , that the Veterans will not have it
“ so ? — let that then come out from me at last ,
“ which is true , and becoming my character to
“ speak ; that if the resolutions of this Body must
“ be governed by the will of the Veterans ; if all
“ our words and acts must be regulated by their
“ humor , then it is high time to wish for death ;

“ which to Roman Citizens was ever preferable to
“ slavery ⁵² — that since so many chances of death
“ surrounded them all both day and night, it was
“ not the part of a man, much less of a Roman,
“ to scruple the giving up that breath to his
“ Country, which he must necessarily give up to
“ nature ⁵³ — that Antony was the single and
“ common enemy of them all; though he had
“ indeed his brother Lucius with him, who seemed
“ to be born on purpose, that Marcus might not
“ be the most infamous of all mortals: that he
“ had a crew also of desperate Villains gaping after
“ the spoils of the Republic — that the army of
“ Brutus was provided against these; whose sole
“ will, thought, and purpose was, to protect the
“ Senate and the liberty of the people — who after
“ trying in vain, what patience would do, found it
“ necessary at last to oppose force to force ⁵⁴ —
“ that they ought therefore to grant the same
“ privilege to M. Brutus, which they had granted
“ before to Decimus and to Octavius; and confirm
“ by public authority, what he had been doing for
“ them by his private counsel.” — For which pur-
pose he proposed the following decree — “whereas
“ by the pains, counsel, industry, virtue of Q. Cæpio
“ Brutus ⁵⁵, Proconsul, in the utmost distress of
“ the Republic, the Province of Macedonia,
“ Illyricum, and Greece, with all their Legions,
“ Armies, Horse, are now in the power of the
“ Consuls, Senate and People of Rome; that
“ Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, has acted therein
“ well, and for the good of the Republic; agreeably

“ to his character, the dignity of his ancestors, and
“ to his usual manner of serving the Common-
“ wealth; and that his conduct is and ever will
“ be acceptable to the Senate and People of Rome.
“ That Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, be ordered,
“ to protect, guard, and defend the province of
“ Macedonia, Illyricum, and all Greece; and com-
“ mand that army, which he himself has raised:
“ that whatever money he wants for military
“ service, he may use and take it from any part
“ of the public revenues, where it can best be
“ raised; or borrow it where he thinks proper;
“ and impose contributions of grain and forage;
“ and take care to draw all his troops as near to
“ Italy as possible: and whereas it appears by the
“ Letters of Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, that the
“ public service has been greatly advanced, by
“ the Endeavours and Virtue of Q. Hortensius,
“ Proconsul; and that he concerted all his measures
“ with Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, to the great
“ benefit of the commonwealth; that Q. Hortensius,
“ Proconsul, has acted therein rightly, regularly,
“ and for the public good; and that it is the will
“ of the Senate, that Q. Hortensius, Proconsul,
“ with his Quæstors, Proquæstors, and Lieutenants,
“ hold the Province of Macedonia, till a successor
“ be appointed by the Senate.”

Cicero sent this speech to Brutus, with that also, which he made on the first of January; of which Brutus says in answer to him, “ I have read your
“ two orations, the one on the first of January,
“ the other on the subject of my letters, against

“ Calenus: you expect now, without doubt, that
“ I should praise them: I am at a loss what to
“ praise the most in them; your courage, or your
“ abilities: I allow you now in earnest to call
“ them Philippics, as you intimated jocosely in a
“ former Letter’.” — Thus the name of Philippics,
which seems to have been thrown out at first in
gayety and jest only, being taken up and propa-
gated by his friends, became at last the fixt and
standing title of these orations; which yet for
several ages, were called, we find, indifferently
either Philippics or Antonians’. Brutus declared
himself so well pleased with these two, which he
had seen, that Cicero promised to send him after-
wards all the rest’.

Brutus, when he first left Italy, sailed directly
for Athens; where he spent some time in concert-
ing measures, how to make himself master of
Greece and Macedonia; which was the great
design that he had in view. Here he gathered
about him all the young Nobility and Gentry of
Rome, who, for the opportunity of their educa-
tion, had been sent to this celebrated seat of
learning: but of them all, he took the most notice
of young Cicero; and after a little acquaintance,
grew very fond of him; admiring his parts and
virtue, and surprised to find in one so young,
such a generosity and greatness of mind, with such
an aversion to Tyranny’. He made him there-
fore one of his Lieutenants, though he was but
twenty years old; gave him the command of his
Horse; and employed him in several commissions

of great trust and importance; in all which the young man signalized both his courage and conduct; and behaved with great credit to himself, great satisfaction to his General, and great benefit to the public service; as Brutus did him the justice to signify both in his private and public Letters to Rome. In writing to Cicero, "Your son," says he, "recommends himself to me so effectually by
" his industry, patience, activity, greatness of
" mind, and in short, by every duty, that he
" seems never to drop the remembrance of whose
" son he is: wherefore since it is not possible for
" me to make you love him more than you do already, yet allow thus much to my judgment,
" as to persuade yourself, that he will have no
" occasion to borrow any share of your glory, in
" order to obtain his Father's honors — ".

This account given by one, who was no flatterer, may be concluded as the real character of the youth: which is confirmed likewise by what Lentulus wrote of him about the same time: "I could not see your son," says he, "when I
" was last with Brutus, because he was gone
" with the horse into winter-quarters: but by
" my faith, it gives me great joy for your sake,
" for his, and especially my own, that he is in
" such esteem and reputation: for as he is your
" son, and worthy of you, I cannot but look
" upon him as my brother".

Cicero was so full of the greater affairs, which were the subject of his Letters to Brutus, that he had scarce leisure to take notice of what was said

about his son: he just touches it, however, in one or two Letters: "As to my Son, if his merit be
" as great as you write, I rejoice at it as much as
" I ought to do: or if you magnify it, out of
" love to him, even that gives me an incredible
" joy, to perceive, that he is beloved by you⁶²."
Again; "I desire you, my dear Brutus, to keep
" my son with you as much as possible: he will
" find no better school of virtue, than in the
" contemplation and imitation of you⁶³."

Though Brutus intimated nothing in his public Letters, but what was prosperous and encouraging, yet in his private accounts to Cicero, he signified a great want of money and recruits, and begged to be supplied with both from Italy, especially with recruits; either by a vote of the Senate, or if that could not be had, by some secret management, without the privity of Pansa; to which Cicero answered, "You tell me, that you want
" two necessary things, recruits and money: it is
" difficult to help you. I know no other way of
" raising money which can be of use to you,
" but what the Senate has decreed, of borrowing
" it from the Cities. As to recruits, I do not
" see what can be done: for Pansa is so far from
" granting any share of his army or recruits to
" you, that he is even uneasy to see so many
" volunteers going over to you: his reason, I take
" it, is, that he thinks no forces too great for
" the demands of our affairs in Italy: for as to
" what many suspect, that he has no mind to
" see you too strong, I have no suspicion of

“ it “.” — Panfa seems to have been much in the right, for refusing to part with any troops out of Italy, where the strefs of the war now lay, on the success of which the fate of the whole Republic depended.

But there came news of a different kind about the same time to Rome, of Dolabella's successful exploits in Asia. He left the City, as it is said above, before the expiration of his Consulship, to possess himself of Syria; which had been allotted to him by Antony's management: and taking his way through Greece and Macedonia, to gather what money and troops he could raise in those countries, he passed over into Asia, in hopes of inducing that Province to abandon Trebonius, and declare for him: having sent his Emissaries therefore before him to prepare for his reception, he arrived before Smyrna, where Trebonius resided, without any show of hostility, or forces sufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to desire nothing more, than a free passage through the Country to his own Province. Trebonius refused to admit him into the Town; but consented to supply him with refreshments without the gates: where many civilities passed between them, with great professions on Dolabella's part of amity and friendship to Trebonius, who promised in his turn, that if Dolabella would depart quietly from Smyrna, he should be received into Ephesus, in order to pass forward toward Syria. To this Dolabella seemingly agreed: and finding it impracticable to take Smyrna by open force,

contrived to surprize it by stratagem: embracing therefore Trebonius's offer, he set forwards towards Ephesus; but after he had marched several miles, and Trebonius's men, who were sent after to observe him, were retired; turned back instantly in the night, and arriving again at Smyrna before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehension of an assault; so that his soldiers, by the help of ladders, presently mounting the walls, possessed themselves of it without opposition, and seized Trebonius himself in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger⁶⁶.

Dolabella treated him with the utmost cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of all the money in his custody; then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried about on a Spear; and his body to be dragged about the streets, and thrown into the sea⁶⁶. This was the first blood, that was spilt, on the account of Cæsar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal Conspirators, and the only one, who was of Consular rank. It had been projected without doubt in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæsar's death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the Veterans to their side, or make them unwilling at least to act against them: and it gave a clear warning to Brutus, and his associates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a sad presage to all honest men of the cruel effects and merciless fury of the impending war.

On the news of Trebonius's death, the Senate was summoned by the Consul, where Dolabella was unanimously declared a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. Calenus himself first proposed the vote, and said, that if any thing more severe could be thought of, he would be for it: the indignation of the City was so inflamed, that he was forced to comply with the popular humor, and hoped perhaps to put some difficulty upon Cicero, who, for his relation to Dolabella, would, as he imagined, be for moderating the punishment. But though Calenus was mistaken in this, he was concerned in moving another question, which greatly perplexed Cicero, about the choice of a General, to manage this new war against Dolabella. Two opinions were proposed; the one, that P. Servilius should be sent with an extraordinary Commission; the other, that the two Consuls should jointly prosecute the war, with the Provinces of Syria and Asia allotted to them. This was very agreeable to Panfa, and pushed therefore not only by his friends, but by all Antony's party, who fancied, that it would take off the attention of the Consuls from the war of Italy; give Dolabella time to strengthen himself in Asia; raise a coldness between the Consuls and Cicero, if he ventured to oppose it; and above all, put a public affront upon Cassius; who by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that commission. The debate continued through the first day, without coming to any issue; and

was adjourned to the next. In the mean while Cassius's mother-in-law, Servilia, and other friends were endeavouring to prevail with Cicero to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating Panfa: but in vain; for he resolved at all hazards to defend the honor of Cassius: and when the debate was resumed the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favor.

He began his speech by observing, " that in
" their present grief for the lamentable fate of
" Trebonius, the Republic, however, would reap
" some good from it, since they now saw the
" barbarous cruelty of those, who had taken arms
" against their country: for of the two Chiefs of
" the present war, the one, by effecting what he
" wished, had discovered what the other aimed
" at". That they both meant nothing less than
" the death and destruction of all honest men; nor
" would be satisfied, it seemed, with simple death,
" for that was the punishment of nature, but
" thought the rack and tortures due to their
" revenge — that what Dolabella had executed,
" was the picture of what Antony intended: that
" they were a true pair, exactly matched, march-
" ing by concert and equal paces in the execution
" of their wicked purposes" — this he illustrates
by parallel instances from the conduct of each;
and after displaying the inhumanity of Dolabella,
and the unhappy fate of Trebonius, in a manner
proper to excite indignation against the one, and
compassion for the other; he shows, " that Dola-

“bella was still the more unhappy of the two,
“and must needs suffer more from the guilt of his
“mind, than Trebonius from the Tortures of his
“body — what doubt,” says he, “can there be
“which of them is the most miserable? he whose
“death the Senate and People are eager to revenge;
“or he, who is adjudged to be a traitor by the
“unanimous vote of the Senate; for in all other
“respects, it is the greatest injury to Trebonius,
“to compare his life with Dolabella’s. As to the
“one, every body knows his wisdom, wit,
“humanity, innocence, greatness of mind in
“freeing his country; but as to the other, cruelty
“was his delight from a boy, with a lewdness so
“shameless and abandoned, that he used to value
“himself for doing, what his very adversaries could
“not object to him with modesty. Yet this man,
“good Gods! was once mine: for I was not very
“curious to inquire into his vices; nor should I
“now perhaps have been his enemy, had he not
“shown himself an enemy to you, to his country,
“to the domestic Gods and Altars of us all; nay,
“even to nature and humanity itself⁶⁸. He exhorts
“them, from this warning given by Dolabella,
“to act with the greater vigor against Antony:
“for if he, who had about him but a few of
“those capital incendiaries, the ringleaders of
“rapine and rebellion, durst attempt an act so
“abominable, what barbarity were they not to
“expect from Antony, who had the whole crew
“of them in his camp;” — the principal of whom
he describes by name and character; and adds,

“ that as he had often dissented unwillingly from
“ Calenus, so now at last he had the pleasure to
“ agree with him, and to let them see that he
“ had no dislike to the man, but to the cause;
“ that in this case, he not only concurred with
“ him, but thanked him for propounding a vote
“ so severe, and worthy the Republic, in decree-
“ ing Dolabella an enemy, and his estate to
“ be confiscated.” — Then as to the second
point, which was of greater delicacy, the nomi-
nation of a General to be sent against Dolabella,
he proceeds to give his reasons for rejecting the
two opinions proposed; the one, for sending
Servilius, the other, for the two Consuls — of
the first, he says, “that extraordinary commissions
“ were always odious, where they were not neces-
“ sary: and wherever they had been granted, it
“ was in cases very different from this — that if
“ the commission in debate should be decreed to
“ Servilius, it would seem an affront to all the
“ rest of the same rank, that being equal in dignity,
“ they should be thought unworthy of the same
“ honor — that he himself indeed had voted an
“ extraordinary commission to young Cæsar; but
“ Cæsar had first given an extraordinary pro-
“ tection and deliverance to them: that they
“ must either have taken his army from him, or
“ decree the command of it to him; which could
“ not therefore be so properly said to be given,
“ as not taken away: but that no such commis-
“ sion had ever been granted to any one, who
“ was wholly idle and unemployed.” — To the

“ second opinion , of decreeing that Province to
“ the Consuls , he shows it to be both against the
“ dignity of the Consuls themselves, and against
“ the public service : that when D. Brutus , a
“ Consul elect , was actually besieged, on the pre-
“ servation of whom their common safety de-
“ pended ; and when a dreadful war was on foot,
“ already intrusted to the two Consuls , the very
“ mention of Asia and Syria would give a handle
“ to jealousy and envy ; and though the decree
“ was not to take place till D. Brutus should first
“ be relieved, yet a new commission would neces-
“ sarily take off some part of their thoughts and
“ attention from the old. Then addressing himself
“ to Panfa ,” he says , “ that though his mind ,
“ he knew , was intent on delivering D. Brutus ,
“ yet the nature of things would force him , to
“ turn it sometimes towards Dolabella : and that,
“ if he had more minds than one , they should all
“ be directed and wholly fixt on Modena ” : that
“ for his own part , he had resigned in his Con-
“ sulship a rich and well furnished Province , that
“ nothing might interrupt his endeavours to quench
“ that flame, which was then raised in his country:
“ he wished that Panfa would imitate him , whom
“ he used to commend ; that if the Consuls, however,
“ desired to have provinces , as other great men
“ had usually done , let them first bring D. Brutus
“ safe home to them : who ought to be guarded
“ with the same care , as the image that fell from
“ Heaven , and was kept in the temple of Vesta ,
“ in the safety of which they were all safe. That
this

“ this decree would create great delay and obstruc-
“ tion to the war against Dolabella; which re-
“ quired a General prepared, equipped, and
“ already invested with command: one, who had
“ authority, reputation, an army, and a resolution
“ tried in the service of his country” — that it
“ must therefore either be Brutus or Cassius, or
“ both of them — that Brutus could not be spared
“ from Macedonia, where he was quelling the
“ last efforts of the faction; and oppressing C. An-
“ tony, who, with the remains of a broken army,
“ was still in possession of some considerable
“ places: that when he had finished that work,
“ if he found it of use to the Commonwealth to
“ pursue Dolabella, he would do it himself, as
“ he had hitherto done, without waiting for their
“ orders: for both he and Cassius had, on many
“ occasions, been a Senate to themselves: that in
“ such a season of general confusion, it was neces-
“ sary to be governed by the times, rather than
“ by rules: that Brutus and Cassius ever held the
“ safety and liberty of their country, to be the
“ most sacred rule of acting”. For by what
“ law,” says he, “by what right have they hi-
“ therto been acting, the one in Greece, the
“ other in Syria; but by that, which Jupiter him-
“ self ordained, that all things beneficial to the
“ Community should be esteemed lawful and just?
“ for law is nothing else but right reason, derived
“ to us from the Gods, enjoining what is honest,
“ prohibiting the contrary: this was the law which
“ Cassius obeyed, when he went into Syria;

“ another man’s Province, if we judge by written
“ law ; but when these are overturned, his own,
“ by the law of nature — but that Cassius’s
“ acts might be confirmed also by the author-
“ ity of the Senate, he proposed a decree
“ to this effect ; that whereas the Senate has
“ declared P. Dolabella to be an enemy of the
“ Roman people, and ordered him to be pursued
“ by open war ; to the intent, that he may suffer
“ the punishment due to him, both from Gods and
“ men ; it is the will of the Senate, that C. Cassius,
“ Proconsul, shall hold the Province of Syria, in
“ the same manner, as if he had obtained it by
“ right of law : and that he receive the several
“ armies from Q. Marcius Crispus, Proconsul,
“ L. Staius Murcus, Proconsul, A. Allienus,
“ Lieutenant ; which they are hereby required to
“ deliver to him : that with these, and what
“ other forces he can procure, he shall pursue
“ Dolabella both by land and sea : that for the
“ occasions of the war, he shall have a power to
“ demand ships, seamen, money, and all things
“ useful to him, from whomsoever he thinks fit,
“ in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, Pontus : and that
“ whatever Province he comes into in prosecuting
“ the war, he shall have an authority superior to
“ that of the proper Governor : that if King
“ Deiotarus, the Father, or the Son, shall assist
“ C. Cassius, Proconsul, with their troops, as
“ they have oft assisted the Roman people in other
“ wars, their conduct will be acceptable to the
“ Senate and People : that if any of the other

“ Kings, Tetrarchs and Potentates shall do the
“ like, the Senate and People will not be unmind-
“ ful of their services : that as soon as the public
“ affairs were settled, C. Panfa and A. Hirtius
“ the Consuls, one or both of them, should take
“ the first opportunity of moving the Senate about
“ the disposal of the Consular and Prætorian Pro-
“ vinces : and that in the mean while they should
“ all continue in the hands of those, who now
“ held them, till successors were appointed by the
“ Senate⁷⁴. ”

From the Senate, Cicero went directly into the Forum, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the interests of Cassius : hither Panfa followed him, and to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the Citizens, that what Cicero contended for, was against the will and advice of Cassius's nearest friends and relations — of which Cicero gives the following account in a letter to Cassius.

M. T. Cicero to C. Cassius.

“ With what zeal I defended your dignity, both
“ in the Senate and with the People, I would
“ have you learn rather from your other friends,
“ than from me. My opinion would easily have
“ prevailed in the Senate, had not Panfa eagerly
“ opposed it. After I had proposed that vote, I
“ was produced to the people by Servilius, the
“ Tribune, and said every thing, which I could
“ of you, with a strength of voice, that filled the

“ Forum; and with such a clamor, and approbation
“ of the people, that I had never seen the like
“ before. You will pardon me I hope, for doing
“ it against the will of your mother-in-law. The
“ timorous woman was afraid, that Panfa would
“ be disgusted. Panfa indeed declared to the
“ assembly, that both your mother and brother
“ were against it; but that did not move me, I
“ had other considerations more at heart: my re-
“ gard was to the Republic, to which I have
“ always wished well, and to your dignity and
“ glory. But there is one thing which I enlarged
“ upon in the Senate, and mentioned also to the
“ people, in which I must desire you to make my
“ words good: for I promised, and in a manner
“ assured them, that you neither had, nor would
“ wait for our decrees; but would defend the
“ Republic yourself in your own way: and though
“ we had heard nothing, either where you were,
“ or what forces you had; yet I took it for granted,
“ that all the forces in those parts were yours;
“ and was confident, that you had already re-
“ covered the Province of Asia to the Republic:
“ let it be your care to outdo yourself, in endea-
“ vouring still to advance your own glory. Adieu.”

As to the issue of the contest, some writers tell us, that it ended as Cicero desired: but it is evident from the Letter, just recited, and more clearly still from other Letters, that Panfa's authority prevailed against him, for granting the commission to the Consuls⁷⁶. Cassius, however, as Cicero advised and declared, had little regard to

what they were decreeing at Rome ; but undertook the whole affair himself, and soon put an end to Dolabella's triumphs, as will be mentioned hereafter in it's proper place.

The Statue of Minerva, which Cicero, upon his going into exile, had dedicated in the Capitol, by the title of the Guardian of the City, was, about the end of the last year, thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of, as ominous, and portending the fall of Cicero himself: though neither Cicero, nor any of that time, made any such reflection upon it. The Senate, however, out of respect to him, passed a decree in a full House, on the eighteenth of March, that the Statue should be repaired, and restored to its place". So that it was now made by public authority, what he himself had designed it to be, a standing monument to posterity, that the safety of the Republic had been the constant object of his counsels.

D. Brutus was reduced by this time to such straits in Modena, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that if he fell into Antony's hands, he would be treated no better than Trebonius. The mention therefore of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by Panfa himself, upon an intimation given by Antony's friends, that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, Cicero, out of a concern for Brutus's safety, consented to the decree of a second Embassy, to be

executed by himself and Servilius together with three other Consular Senators : but finding upon recollection, that there appeared no symptoms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a false step, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time ; which was of great use to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving Modena, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with three Legions. At the next meeting therefore of the Senate, he retracted his opinion, and declared against the late decree, as dangerous and insidious, and in a warm and pathetic speech pressed them to rescind it. He owns, “ that it was indecent for
“ one, whose authority they had so often fol-
“ lowed in the most important debates, to declare
“ himself mistaken and deceived ; yet his comfort
“ was, that it was in common with them all,
“ and with a Consul of the greatest wisdom :
“ that when Piso and Calenus, who knew An-
“ tony’s secret, the one of whom entertained his
“ wife and children at his house, the other was
“ perpetually sending and receiving Letters from
“ him, began to renew, what they had long in-
“ termitted, their exhortations to peace ; and when
“ the Consul thought fit to exhort the same thing,
“ a man, whose prudence could not easily be im-
“ posed upon ; whose virtue approved no peace,
“ but on Antony’s submission ; whose greatness of

“ mind preferred death to slavery ; it was natural
“ to imagine , that there was some special reason
“ for all this ; some secret wound in Antony’s
“ affairs , which the public was unacquainted
“ with : especially when it was reported , that
“ Antony’s family were under some unusual afflict-
“ tion , and his friends in the Senate betrayed a
“ dejection in their looks — for if there was no-
“ thing in it , why should Piso and Calenus , above
“ all others ; why at that time ; why so unexpect-
“ edly , so suddenly move for peace ? yet now ,
“ when they had entangled the Senate in a pa-
“ cific Embassy , they both denied , that there
“ was any thing new or particular , which in-
“ duced them to it⁷⁸ : that there could be no oc-
“ casion therefore for new measures , when there
“ was nothing new in the case itself — that they were
“ drawn in , and deceived by Antony’s friends , who
“ were serving his private , not the public interest —
“ that he had seen it from the first , though but
“ darkly ; his concern for Brutus having dazzled his
“ eyes , for whose liberty , if a substitute could be
“ accepted , he would freely offer himself to be
“ shut up in his place — that if Antony would
“ humble himself , and sue to them for any
“ thing , he should perhaps be for hearing him ;
“ but while he stood to his arms , and acted
“ offensively , their business was to resist force
“ by force — but they would tell him per-
“ haps , that the thing was not in their power ,
“ since an Embassy was actually decreed. But
“ what is it , ” says he , “ that is not free to the

“ wise, which it is possible to retrieve? it is
“ the case of every man to err, but the part
“ only of a fool to persevere in error — if
“ we have been drawn away by false and falla-
“ cious hopes, let us turn again into the way;
“ for the surest harbour to a penitent is a change
“ of his conduct”. He then shows, how the
“ Embassy, so far from being of service, would
“ certainly hurt, nay, had already hurt the Re-
“ public; by checking the zeal of the Towns
“ and Colonies of Italy; and the courage of
“ the Legions, which had declared for them,
“ who could never be eager to fight, while the
“ Senate was founding a retreat”. — That
“ nothing was more unjust, than to determine
“ any thing about peace, without the consent
“ of those who were carrying on the war; and
“ not only without, but against their consent:
“ that Hirtius and Cæsar had no thoughts of
“ peace; from whom he had letters then in his
“ hands, declaring their hopes of victory; for
“ their desire was to conquer, and to acquire
“ peace, not by treaty, but by victory”. —
“ That there could not possibly be any peace
“ with one, to whom nothing could be grant-
“ ed: they had voted him to have forged se-
“ veral decrees of the Senate; would they vote
“ them again to be genuine? they had annulled
“ his laws, as made by violence; would they
“ now consent to restore them? they had de-
“ creed him to have embezzled five millions of
“ money; could such a waste be absolved from

“ a charge of fraud ? that immunities, Priest-
“ hoods, Kingdoms, had been sold by him ;
“ could those bargains be confirmed , which
“ their decrees had made void ? ” — That if
“ they should grant him the farther Gaul and
“ an army, what would it be else, but to defer
“ the war, not to make peace ? nay, not only
“ to prolong the war, but to yield him the vic-
“ tory ”. — Was it for this, ” says he, “ that
“ we have put on the robe of war, taken arms,
“ sent out all the youth of Italy ; that with a
“ most flourishing and numerous army we should
“ send an Embassy at last for peace ? and must
“ I bear a part in that Embassy, or assist in that
“ counsel, where, if I differ from the rest, the
“ people of Rome can never know it ? so that
“ whatever concessions are made to Antony, or
“ whatever mischief he may do hereafter, it
“ must be at the hazard of my credit.” —

He then shows, “ that if an Embassy must needs
“ be sent, he, of all men, was the most im-
“ proper to be employed in it : that he had ever
“ been against an Embassy ; was the mover of
“ their taking the habit of war ; was always for
“ the severest proceedings both against Antony
“ and his associates — that all that party look-
“ ed upon him as prejudiced ; and Antony would
“ be offended at the sight of him ”. — That
“ if they did not trouble themselves, how An-
“ tony might take it, he begged them at least
“ to spare him the pain of seeing Antony ; which
“ he should never be able to bear : who in a

“ speech lately to his parricides, when he was
“ distributing rewards to the boldest of them,
“ had promised Cicero’s estate to Petissius —
“ that he should never endure the sight of
“ L. Antony; whose cruelty he could not have
“ escaped, but by the defence of his walls and
“ gates, and the zeal of his native Town: that
“ though he might be able to command himself,
“ and dissemble his uneasiness at the sight of
“ Antony and his crew, yet some regard should
“ be had to his life; not that he set any value
“ upon it himself, but it ought not to be thought
“ despicable by the Senate and People of Rome:
“ since, if he did not deceive himself, it was
“ he who by his watchings, cares and votes,
“ had managed matters so, that all the attempts
“ of their enemies had not hitherto been able to
“ do them any harm^s. — That his life had
“ been often attempted at home, where the
“ fidelity of his friends, and the eyes of all
“ Rome were his guard; what might he not
“ apprehend from so long a journey? that there
“ were three roads from Rome to Modena; the
“ Flaminian along the upper sea; the Aurelian
“ along the lower; the Cassian in the middle —
“ that they were all of them beset by Antony’s
“ allies, his own utter enemies: the Cassian by
“ Lento; the Flaminian by Ventidius; the Au-
“ relian by the whole Clodian family^s. —
“ That he would stay therefore in the City, if
“ the Senate would give leave, which was his
“ proper feat, his watch and station: that

“ others might enjoy camps, Kingdoms, mili-
“ tary commands; he would take care of the
“ City, and the affairs at home, in partnership
“ with them; that he did not refuse the charge;
“ but it was the people, who refused it for him:
“ for no man was less timorous, though none
“ more cautious than he——that a statesman
“ ought to leave behind him a reputation of
“ glory in dying; not the reproach of error
“ and folly: who,” says he, “ does not bewail
“ the death of Trebonius? yet there are some
“ who say, though it is hard indeed to say it,
“ that he is the less to be pitied, for not keep-
“ ing a better guard, against a base and detest-
“ able villain: for wise men tell us, that he who
“ professes to guard the lives of others, ought
“ in the first place to keep a guard upon his
“ own^s.——That if he should happen to es-
“ cape all the snares of the road, that Antony’s
“ rage was so furious, that he would never
“ suffer him to return alive from the congress—
“ that when he was a young volunteer in the
“ wars of Italy, he was present at a confer-
“ ence of Cn. Pompey the Consul, and P. Vet-
“ tius the General of the Marfi, held between
“ the two camps: there was no fear, no sus-
“ picion, nor any violent hatred on either
“ side——that there was an interview likewise
“ between Sylla and Scipio, in their civil wars,
“ where though faith was not strictly observed,
“ yet no violence was offered^s——but the
“ case was different in treating with Antony,

“ where , if others could be safe, he at least
“ could not : that Antony would never come
“ into their camp ; much less they into his——
“ that if they transacted affairs by Letter, his
“ opinion would always be one and the same ;
“ to reduce every thing to the will of the Senate :
“ that this would be misrepresented to the Ve-
“ terans , as severe and perverse ; and might
“ excite them perhaps to some violence——
“ let my life therefore ,” says he , “ be reserved
“ to the service of my country , as long as
“ either dignity or nature will allow : let my
“ death fall by the necessary course of fate ;
“ or if I must meet it sooner, let me meet it with
“ glory—— Since the Republic then , to speak
“ the most moderately , has no occasion for
“ this Embassy ; yet if I can undertake it with
“ safety , I will go : and in this whole affair
“ will govern myself entirely, Fathers, not by
“ a regard to my own danger, but to the ser-
“ vice of the state ; and after the most mature
“ deliberation, will resolve to do that which I
“ shall judge to be most useful to the public
“ Interest.”——

Though he did not absolutely refuse the employment, yet he dissuaded it so strongly, that the thing was wholly dropt ; and Panfa, about the end of the month, marched away towards Gaul, at the head of his new raised army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battle with Antony for the delivery of Brutus.

Antony at the same time, while he was perplexing the counsels of the Senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring also by his Letters to shake the resolution of Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cause which they were now serving: but their answers seem to have been short and firm; referring him constantly to the authority of the Senate: yet as things were now drawing towards a crisis, he made one effort more upon them; and in the following exhortatory Letter reproached them with great freedom, for deserting their true interest, and suffering themselves to be duped, and drawn in by Cicero, to revive the Pompeian cause, and establish a power, which in the end would destroy them.

Antonius to Hirtius and Cæsar.

“ Upon the news of Trebonius’s death, I was
“ equally affected both with joy and with grief.
“ It was matter of real joy to me, to see a vil-
“ lain suffer the vengeance due to the ashes of
“ the most illustrious of men; and that within
“ the circle of the current year, the divine pro-
“ vidence has displayed itself, by the punish-
“ ment of parricide, inflicted already on some,
“ and ready to fall upon the rest. But on the
“ other hand, it is a subject of just grief to me,
“ that Dolabella should be declared an enemy,
“ because he has killed a murderer; and that
“ the son of a Buffoon should be dearer to the
“ people of Rome, than Cæsar, the Father of
“ his country: but the cruellest reflection of all

“ is, that you, Hirtius, covered with Cæsar’s
“ favors, and left by him in a condition, which
“ you yourself wonder at; and you too, young
“ man, who owe every thing to his name, are
“ doing all which is in your power, that Dola-
“ bella may be thought justly condemned; that
“ this wretch be delivered from the siege; and
“ Cassius and Brutus be invested with all power.
“ You look upon the present state of things as
“ people did upon the past; call Pompey’s
“ camp the Senate; have made the vanquished
“ Cicero your Captain; are strengthening Ma-
“ cedonia with armies; have given Africa to
“ Varus, twice a prisoner; have sent Cassius
“ into Syria; suffered Casca to act as Tribune;
“ suppressed the revenues of the Julian Luperci;
“ abolished the colonies of Veterans, established
“ by law, and the decree of the Senate; pro-
“ mise to restore to the people of Marseilles,
“ what was taken from them by right of war;
“ forget that a Pompeian was made incapable of
“ any dignity by Hirtius’s law; have supplied
“ Brutus with Appuleius’s money; applauded
“ the putting to death Poetus and Menedemus,
“ Cæsar’s friends, whom he made free of the
“ City; took no notice of Theopompus, when
“ stripped and banished by Trebonius, he fled to
“ Alexandria: you see Ser. Galba in your Camp,
“ armed with the same poniard with which he
“ stabbed Cæsar; have enlisted my soldiers,
“ and other Veterans, on pretence of destroying
“ those who killed Cæsar; and then employ

“ them, before they know what they are doing,
“ against their Quæstor, or their General, or
“ their Comrades — what have you not done,
“ which Pompey himself, were he alive, or his
“ son, if he could, would not do? in short,
“ you deny that any peace can be made, unless
“ I set Brutus at liberty, or supply him with
“ provisions: can this please those Veterans,
“ who have not yet declared themselves? for as
“ to your part, you have sold yourselves to the
“ flatteries and poisoned honors of the Senate.
“ But you come, you say, to preserve the troops
“ which are besieged. I am not against their
“ being saved, or going wherever you please,
“ if they will but leave him to perish who has
“ deserved it. You write me word that the
“ mention of concord has been revived in the
“ Senate, and five Consular Ambassadors ap-
“ pointed: it is hard to believe, that those who
“ had driven me to this extremity, when I of-
“ fered the fairest conditions, and was willing
“ to remit some part of them, should do any
“ thing with moderation or humanity: nor is
“ it probable, that the same men, who voted
“ Dolabella an enemy for a most laudable act,
“ can ever forgive me, who am in the same
“ sentiments with him. Wherefore it is your
“ business to reflect, which of the two is the
“ more eligible, or more useful to our common
“ interest; to revenge the death of Trebonius,
“ or of Cæsar: and which the more equitable;
“ for us to act against each other, that the Pom-

“ peian cause , so often defeated , may recover
“ itself; or to join our forces, lest we become
“ at last the sport of our enemies ; who , which
“ of us soever may happen to fall , are sure to
“ be the gainers. But fortune has hitherto pre-
“ vented that spectacle ; unwilling to see two
“ armies, like members of the same body fight-
“ ing against each other ; and Cicero all the
“ while, like a master of Gladiators , matching
“ us , and ordering the Combat ; who is so far
“ happy , as to have caught you with the same
“ bait , with which he brags to have caught
“ Cæsar. For my part , I am resolved to suffer
“ no affront , either to myself , or my friends ;
“ nor to desert the party which Pompey hated ;
“ nor to see the Veterans driven out of their
“ possessions , and dragged one by one to the
“ rack ; nor to break my word with Dolabella ;
“ nor to violate my league with Lepidus , a
“ most religious man : nor to betray Plancus ,
“ the Partner of my counsels. If the immor-
“ tal Gods support me , as I hope they will , in
“ the pursuit of so good a cause , I shall live
“ with pleasure ; but if any other fate expects
“ me , I taste a joy , however , before-hand , in the
“ sure foresight of your punishment : for if the
“ Pompeians are so insolent when conquered ,
“ how much more they will be so when Con-
“ querors , it will be your lot to feel. In a word
“ this is the sum of my resolution : I can for-
“ give the injuries of my friends , if they them-
“ selves are disposed , either to forget them , or
prepared

“ prepared in conjunction with me, to revenge
“ the death of Cæsar: I cannot believe that any
“ Ambassadors will come; when they do, I
“ shall know what they have to demand ”.”
Hirtius and Cæsar, instead of answering this Letter,
sent it directly to Cicero at Rome, to make what
use of it he thought fit with the Senate or the
people.

In this interval Lepidus wrote a public Letter
to the Senate, to exhort them to measures of peace,
and to save the effusion of civil blood, by con-
triving some way of reconciling Antony and his
friends to the service of their country; without
giving the least intimation of his thanks for the pub-
lic honors, which they had lately decreed to him.
This was not agreeable to the Senate, and con-
firmed their former jealousy of his disaffection to
the Republic, and good understanding with An-
tony. They agreed, however, to a vote proposed
by Servilius, “ that Lepidus should be thanked for
“ his love of peace, and care of the Citizens, yet
“ should be desired not to trouble himself any
“ farther about it, but to leave that affair to them;
“ who thought, that there could be no peace,
“ unless Antony should lay down his arms, and
“ sue for it.” This Letter gave Antony’s friends
a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty,
for the sake of obliging Lepidus, who had it in
his power, they said, to force them to it: which
put Cicero once more to the trouble of confuting
and exposing all their arguments. He told them,
“ that he was ever afraid from the first, lest an

“ infidious offer of peace should damp the com-
“ mon zeal, for the recovery of their liberty :
“ that whoever delighted in discord, and the
“ blood of Citizens, ought to be expelled from
“ the society of human kind : yet it was to be
“ considered, whether there was not some wars
“ wholly inextinguishable ; where no peace could be
“ made, and where a treaty of peace was but a
“ stipulation of slavery ” : that the war now on
“ foot was of this sort ; undertaken against a set
“ of men who were natural enemies to society ;
“ whose only pleasure it was to oppress, plunder,
“ and murder their fellow-creatures ; and to restore
“ such to the City, was to destroy the City it-
“ self ”. — That they ought to remember what
“ decrees they had already made against them :
“ such as had never been made against a foreign
“ enemy, or any, with whom there could be
“ peace — that since wisdom, as well a fortitude,
“ was expected from men of their rank, though
“ these indeed could hardly be separated, yet he
“ was willing to consider them separately, and
“ follow what wisdom the more cautious and
“ guarded of the two prescribed. — If wisdom
“ then,” says he, “ should command me to hold
“ nothing so dear as life ; to decree nothing at the
“ hazard of my head ; to avoid all danger, though
“ slavery was sure to be the consequence ; I would
“ reject that wisdom, be it ever so learned : but
“ if it teaches us to preserve our lives, our for-
“ tunes, our families, yet so, as to think them
“ inferior to liberty ; to wish to enjoy them no

“ longer than we can do it in a free Republic ;
“ not to part with our liberty for them , but to
“ throw them all away for liberty , as exposing us
“ only to greater mischief without it ; I would
“ then listen to her voice , and obey her as a
“ God ”. That no man had a greater respect for
“ Lepidus than himself ; and though there had
“ been an old friendship between them , yet he
“ valued him not so much for that , as his services
“ to the public , in prevailing with young Pom-
“ pey to lay down his arms , and free his country
“ from the misery of a cruel war : that the Re-
“ public had many pledges of fidelity from Lepidus ;
“ his great nobility ; great honors ; High Priest-
“ hood ; many parts of the City adorned by him
“ and his Ancestors ; his wife , children , great
“ fortunes , pure from any taint of civil blood ;
“ no Citizen ever hurt , many preserved by him :
“ that such a man might err in judgment , but
“ could never wilfully be an enemy to his coun-
“ try. — That his desire of peace was laudable ,
“ if he could make such a peace for them now ,
“ as when he restored Pompey to them. — That
“ for this they had decreed him greater honors ,
“ than had been given before to any man , a
“ statue with a splendid inscription , and a triumph
“ even in absence ”. — That by good fortune they
“ had managed matters so , that Pompey’s return
“ might consist with the validity of Cæsar’s acts ,
“ which , for the sake of peace , they had con-
“ firmed ; since they had decreed to Pompey the
“ five millions and half , which was raised by the

“ sale of his estates , to enable him to buy them
“ again : he desired that the task of replacing him
“ in the possessions of his Ancestors, might be com-
“ mitted to him for his old friendship with his
“ Father : that it should be his first care to nomi-
“ nate him an Augur, and repay the same favor
“ to the Son, which he himself received from the
“ Father ” : that those who had seen him lately
“ at Marseilles, brought word, that he was ready
“ to come with his troops to the relief of Modena,
“ but that he was afraid of giving offence to the
“ Veterans : which showed him to be the true
“ Son of that Father, who used to act with as much
“ prudence as courage. — That it was Lepidus’s
“ business to take care, not to be thought to act
“ with more arrogance than became him : that if
“ he meant to frighten them with his army , he
“ should remember, that it was the army of the
“ Senate and People of Rome, not his own ”.—
“ That if he interposed his authority without arms,
“ that was indeed the more laudable, but would
“ hardly be thought necessary. — For though his au-
“ thority was as great with them, as that of the
“ noblest Citizen ought to be, yet the Senate was
“ not unmindful of their own dignity ; and there
“ never was a graver, firmer, stouter, Senate,
“ than the present. — That they were all so in-
“ censed against the enemies of their liberty, that
“ no man’s authority could repress their ardor,
“ or extort their arms from them. — That they
“ hoped the best, but would rather suffer the
“ worst, than live slaves ”.— That there was no

“ danger to be apprehended from Lepidus, since
“ he could not enjoy the splendor of his own
“ fortunes, but with the safety of all honest
“ men — That nature first makes men honest,
“ but fortune confirms them: for though it was
“ the common interest of all to promote the
“ safety of the public, yet it was more particularly
“ of those who were happy in their fortunes. —
“ That no body was more so than Lepidus, and
“ no body therefore better disposed: of which
“ the people saw a remarkable instance, in the
“ concern which he expressed, when Antony
“ offered a diadem to Cæsar, and chose to be
“ his slave, rather than his Colleague: for which
“ single act, if he had been guilty of nothing
“ else, he had richly deserved the worst punish-
“ ment.” — Then after inveighing, as usual,
against Antony through several pages, he de-
clared all thoughts of peace with him to be in
vain, and for a fresh proof of it produced his
last Letter to Hirtius and Octavius, and read it
publicly to the assembly: not that he thought it
worth reading, he says, but to let them see his
traiterous views openly avowed and confessed by
himself. He read it to them paragraph by para-
graph, with his own comment and remarks upon
it; rallying all along with great wit and spirit,
“ the rage, the extravagance, the inconsistency,
“ the folly, and the inaccuracy of each sentence.”
On the whole he says, “ that if Lepidus had seen
“ it he would neither have advised, or thought
“ any peace with him possible. — That fire

“ and water would sooner unite , than the An-
“ tonies be reconciled to the Republic. — That
“ the first and best thing therefore was to con-
“ quer, the second , to decline no danger for
“ the liberty of their country ; that there was
“ no third thing, but the last and worst of all,
“ to submit to the utmost baseness, through a
“ desire of living. — For which reasons he declar-
“ ed his concurrence with Servilius, in the vote
“ upon Lepidus’s Letters ; and proposed an ad-
“ ditional decree, either to be joined to the
“ other , or published separately. — That Pom-
“ pey the Great, the son of Cnæus, in offering
“ his service and his troops to the Senate and
“ People of Rome, had acted agreeably to the
“ courage and zeal of his Father and Ancestors ;
“ and to his own virtue, industry, and good
“ disposition to the Republic: and that the thing
“ was grateful and acceptable to the Senate and
“ People, and would hereafter be an honor to
“ himself.”

After the debate , which ended as Cicero wished , he sent the following short Letter to Lepidus, which, by the coldness and negligence with which it is drawn, seems to be designed to let Lepidus see, that they were perfectly easy and secure at Rome, whatever measures he might think fit to take.

Cicero to Lepidus.

“ While out of the great respect which I
“ bear to you, I am making it my particular

“ care, to advance your dignity as much as pos-
“ sible, it was a concern to me to see, that you
“ did not think it worth while to return your
“ thanks to the Senate, for the extraordinary
“ honors, which they have lately conferred up-
“ on you. I rejoice, however, that you are so
“ desirous of making peace among Citizens: if
“ you can separate that peace from slavery, you
“ will consult both the good of the Republic,
“ and your own dignity: but if the effect of it
“ be, to restore a desperate man to an arbitrary
“ dominion; I would have you to know, that
“ all men of sense have taken a resolution, to
“ prefer death to servitude. You will act more
“ wisely therefore in my judgment, if you
“ meddle no farther with that affair of peace:
“ which is not agreeable either to the Senate,
“ or the people, or to any honest man: but
“ you will hear enough of this from others, or
“ be informed of it by Letters; and will be di-
“ rected by your own prudence, what is the best
“ for you to do⁹⁸. ”

Plancus too, who commanded in Gaul, and now resided near Lyons, at the head of a brave army, enforced Lepidus's advice, by a Letter likewise to the Senate on the same subject of peace; to which Cicero wrote the following answer:

Cicero to Plancus.

“ The account which our friend Furnius
“ brought of your Affection to the Republic,
“ was highly agreeable both to the Senate and
“ People of Rome: but your Letter, when read
“ in the Senate, did not seem to agree with
“ Furnius’s report: for you advised us to peace,
“ when your Colleague, a man of the greatest
“ eminence, was besieged by most infamous
“ Plunderers; who ought either to sue for
“ peace, by laying down their arms, or if they
“ demand it with sword in hand, it must be
“ procured by victory, not treaty. But in what
“ manner your Letters, as well as Lepidus’s
“ also, were received, you will understand from
“ that excellent man your brother, and from
“ Furnius, &c. ”.

C. Antony, whom we mentioned above, to have retreated with seven Cohorts to Apollonia, not daring to wait for Brutus’s arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to Buthrotum, to seek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote; but being overtaken and attacked on the march by a part of Brutus’s army, he lost three of his cohorts in the action; and in a second engagement with another body of troops, which young Cicero commanded, was entirely routed and taken prisoner: which made Brutus absolute Master of the Country, without any farther opposition¹⁰⁰. This fresh success gave occasion for a second Letter, from

Brutus to the Senate ; of which Cicero makes the following mention ; “ your Letter ”, says he, “ which was read in the Senate, shows the “ Counsel of the General, the virtue of your “ soldiers, the industry of your officers, and in “ particular of my Cicero. If your friends had “ been willing to move the Senate upon it ; and “ if it had not fallen into most turbulent times, “ since the departure of Pansa, some just and “ proper honor would have been decreed for it “ to the Gods ¹⁰¹. ” —

The taking C. Antony prisoner put Brutus under some difficulty in what manner he should treat him : if he set him at liberty, to which he was inclined, he had reason to apprehend fresh trouble from him, both to himself and the Republic : if he kept him prisoner in his camp, he was afraid, lest some sedition might be raised on his account and by his intrigues, in his own army ; or if he put him to death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He consulted Cicero therefore upon it by Letter — “ C. Antony, ” says he, “ is still “ with me : but in truth, I am moved with “ the prayers of the man ; and afraid, lest the “ madness of some should make him the occa- “ sion of mischief to me. I am wholly at a “ loss what to do with him. If I knew your “ mind, I should be at ease : for I should think “ that the best, which you advised ¹⁰². ” —

Cicero's advice was, to keep him under a safe guard, till they knew the fate of D. Brutus in

Modena ¹⁰³. Brutus, however, treated him with great lenity, and seemed much disposed to give him his liberty: for which purpose he not only wrote to the Senate about it himself, but permitted Antony to write too, and with the style of Proconsul; which surprised and shocked all his friends at Rome, and especially Cicero, who expostulates with him for it in the following terms.

“ On the thirteenth of April, ” says he, “ your
“ messenger Pilus brought us two Letters, the
“ one in your name, the other in Antony’s;
“ and gave them to Servilius the Tribune; he
“ to Cornutus the Prætor. They were read in
“ the Senate. Antony, Proconsul, raised as much
“ wonder as if it had been, Dolabella, Emperor;
“ from whom also there came an express; but
“ no body, like your Pilus, was so hardy, as
“ to produce the Letters, or deliver them to the
“ Magistrates. Your Letter was read; short in
“ deed, but extremely mild towards Antony:
“ the Senate was amazed at it. For my part, I
“ did not know how to act. Should I affirm it
“ to be forged? ——— What if you should own
“ it? Should I admit it to be genuine? that was
“ not for your honor. I chose therefore to be
“ silent that day. On the next, when the affair
“ had made some noise, and Pilus’s carriage had
“ given offence, I began the debate, said much
“ of Proconsul Antony; Sextius performed his
“ part, and observed to me afterwards in private,
“ what danger his son and mine would be liable

“ to, if they had really taken up arms against a
“ Proconsul. You know the man; he did justice
“ to the cause. Others also spoke; but our
“ friend Labeo took notice, that your seal was
“ not put to the Letter; nor any date added;
“ nor had you written about it, as usual, to
“ your friends; from which he maintained the
“ Letter to be forged; and in short, convinced
“ the House of it. It is now your part, Bru-
“ tus, to consider the whole state and nature of
“ the war: you are delighted, I perceive, with
“ lenity; and think it the best way of pro-
“ ceeding: this indeed, is generally right; but
“ the proper place of clemency is, in cases and
“ seasons very different from the present: for
“ what are we doing now, Brutus? we see a
“ needy and desperate crew threatening the very
“ Temples of the Gods; and that the war must
“ necessarily decide, whether we are to live or
“ not. Who is it then, whom we are sparing?
“ or what is it, that we mean? are we consult-
“ ing the safety of those, who, if they get the
“ better, are sure not to leave the least remains
“ of us? for what difference is there between
“ Dolabella and any one of the three Antonys?
“ if we spare any of these, we have been too se-
“ vere to Dolabella. It was owing chiefly to my
“ advice and authority, that the Senate and
“ People are in this way of thinking, though
“ the thing itself indeed also obliged them to it:
“ if you do not approve this policy, I shall de-
“ fend your opinion, but cannot depart from

“ my own: the world expect from you no-
“ thing either remiss or cruel: it is easy to mo-
“ derate the matter, by severity to the Leaders,
“ generosity to the soldiers ¹⁰⁴ .”

Cicero had now done every thing, that human prudence could do towards the recovery of the Republic: for all that vigor, with which it was making this last effort for itself, was entirely owing to his counsels and authority. As Antony was the most immediate and desperate enemy, who threatened it, so he had armed against him the whole strength of Italy, and raised up a force sufficient to oppress him. Young Octavius, next to Antony, was the most formidable to the friends of liberty; but from the contrast of their personal interests, and their jealousy of each other's views, Cicero managed the opportunity, to employ the one to the ruin of the other; yet so, as to provide at the same time against any present danger from Octavius, by throwing a superiority of power into the hands of the Consuls; whom, from being the late Ministers of Cæsar's Tyranny, he had gained over to the interests of liberty. But besides the difficulties, which he had to struggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater discouragements abroad, from the Commanders of the several Provinces: they were all promoted to those governments by Cæsar, the proper Creatures of his power, and the abettors of his tyranny ¹⁰⁵; and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themselves to dominion, or to a share of it at least, by espousing the cause

of some more powerful pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, could not easily be persuaded to submit to a Senate, which they had been taught to despise, or to reduce the Military power, which had long governed all, to a dependence on the Civil. Yet Cicero omitted no pains of exhorting them by Letters, and inviting them by honors to prefer the glory of saving their Country, to all other views whatsoever. Those, whom he most distrusted, and for that reason most particularly pressed, were Lepidus, Pollio, and Plancus; who by the strength of their armies, and the possession of Gaul and Spain, were the best qualified to serve or to distress the Republican cause. He had little hopes of the two first; yet managed them so well, by representing the strength of the honest party, the unanimity of the Senate, of the Consuls, and all Italy, that he forced them at least to dissemble their disaffection, and make great professions of their duty; and above all, to stand neuter till the affairs of Italy were decided; on which the fate of the Republic seemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he seems to have drawn Plancus entirely into his measures: as appears from his account of him to Brutus¹⁰⁶, and from Plancus's own Letters, in which he gives the strongest assurances of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops to the relief of Modena; and was actually upon his march towards it, when he heard upon the road of Antony's defeat. — Not long before which, Cicero sent him the following Letter.

Cicero to Plancus.

“ Though I understood from the account of
“ our friend Furnius , what your design and re-
“ solution was , with regard to the Republic ;
“ yet after reading your Letters I was able to
“ form a clearer judgment of your whole purpose.
“ Wherefore, though the fate of the Common-
“ wealth depends wholly on one battle, which
“ will be decided , I believe , when you are
“ reading this Letter , yet you have acquired
“ great applause , by the very fame , which was
“ every where spread , of your good intentions :
“ and if there had been a Consul at Rome , the
“ Senate , by decreeing some considerable honor
“ to you , would have declared , how acceptable
“ your endeavours and preparations were. But that
“ time is not only not yet past ; but was not in my
“ judgment even ripe : for after all , that alone
“ passes with me for honor , which is conferred
“ on great men , not for the hopes of future, but
“ the experience of past services. If then there be
“ any Republic , in which honor can have it’s
“ proper lustre , take my word for it, you shall
“ have your share of the greatest : though that ,
“ which can truly be called honor , is not an in-
“ vitation to a temporary , but the reward of a
“ habitual virtue. Wherefore , my dear Plancus,
“ turn your whole thoughts towards glory :
“ help your Country ; fly to the relief of your
“ Colleague ; support this wonderful consent,
“ and concurrence of all nations : you will ever

“ find me the promoter of your counfels , the
“ favorer of your dignity , and on all occasions
“ most friendly and faithful to you : for to all
“ the other motives of our union ; our mutual
“ affection ; good offices ; old acquaintance ;
“ the love of our Country , which is now
“ added , makes me prefer your life to my own.
“ Mar. 29th ¹⁰⁷. ”

Plancus in the mean time sent a second Letter to the Senate , to assure them of his zeal and resolution to adhere to them ; and to acquaint them with the steps, which he had already taken for their service : upon which they decreed him some extraordinary honors , at the motion of Cicero , who sent him the following account of it.

Cicero to Plancus.

“ Though out of regard to the Republic , my
“ greatest joy ought to be, for your bringing
“ such relief and help to it, in a time almost of
“ extremity ; yet may I so embrace you after
“ victory and the recovery of our liberty , as it
“ is your dignity , that gives me the chief part of
“ my pleasure ; which already is, and ever will be,
“ I perceive, as great as possible. For I would
“ not have you think , that any Letters were
“ ever read in the Senate of greater weight than
“ yours ; both for the eminent merit of your services , and the gravity of your words and sentiments : which was not at all new to me , who
“ was so well acquainted with you , and

“ remembered the promises of your Letters to me;
“ and understood the whole purpose of your coun-
“ fels from our Furnius: but they appeared greater
“ to the Senate, than was expected; not that they
“ ever had any doubt of your inclinations; but
“ did not fully understand, how much you were
“ able to do, or how far you would expose your-
“ self in the cause. When M. Varifidius therefore
“ brought me your Letters very early, on the
“ seventh of April, I was transported with joy
“ upon reading them; and as a great multitude
“ of excellent Citizens were then waiting to attend
“ my going abroad, I instantly gave them all a
“ part of my pleasure. In the mean while our
“ friend Munatius, according to custom, came to
“ join me: I presently showed him your Letter,
“ of which he knew nothing before; for Varifidius
“ came first to me, as you, he said, had ordered
“ him: soon after, the same Munatius returned
“ to me with the other two Letters; that, which
“ you had sent to him, and that, to the Senate:
“ we resolved to carry the last directly to the
“ Prætor Cornutus; who, by the custom of our
“ ancestors, supplies the place of the Consuls in
“ their absence. The Senate was immediately
“ called; and, upon the same and expectation of
“ your Letters, made up a full House. After they
“ were read, a scruple of religion was objected
“ to Cornutus, from the report of the Guardians
“ of the Chickens; that he had not duly con-
“ sulted the auspices; which was confirmed like-
“ wise by our Collège: so that the affair was
adjourned

“ adjourned to the next day. On that day I had
“ a great contest about your dignity with Servilius,
“ who procured by his interest, to have his opi-
“ nion declared the first: but the Senate left him,
“ and all went the contrary way: but when they
“ were coming into my opinion, which was deli-
“ vered the second, the Tribune Titius, at his
“ request, interposed his negative; and so the
“ debate was put off again to the day following.
“ Servilius came prepared to support his opposition,
“ though against Jupiter himself, in whose Temple
“ the thing passed: in what manner I handled him,
“ and what a struggle I had to throw off Titius’s
“ negative, I would have you learn rather from
“ other people’s Letters; take this, however, from
“ mine, that the Senate could not possibly act
“ with more gravity, firmness, and regard to your
“ honor, than it did on this occasion; nor is the
“ Senate more friendly to you, than the whole
“ City: for the body of the people, and all ranks
“ and orders of men are wonderfully united in
“ the defence of the Republic. Go on therefore,
“ as you have begun, and recommend your name
“ to immortality: and from all these things, which
“ from the vain badges of outward splendor, carry
“ a show of glory, despise them; look upon them,
“ as trifling, transitory, perishing. True honor
“ is placed singly in virtue; which is illustrated
“ with the most advantage by great services to
“ our Country. You have the best opportunity
“ for this in the world; which since you have em-
“ braced, persevere, and go through with it;

“that the Republic may not owe less to you;
“than you to the Republic: you will find me,
“not only the favorer, but the advancer of your
“dignity: this I take myself to owe, both to
“the Republic; which is dearer to me than my
“life, and to our friendship, &c. April the
“eleventh¹⁰⁸.”

Plancus answered him not long after to the following effect.

Plancus to Cicero.

“It is a pleasure to me to reflect, that I have
“never promised any thing rashly of myself to
“you; nor you, for me to others. In this you
“have the clearer proof of my love, that I desire
“to make you acquainted with my designs before
“any man else. You already see, I hope, that my
“services to the public will grow greater every
“day: I promise, that you shall soon be convinced
“of it. As for me, my dear Cicero, may the
“Republic be so delivered by my help from it’s
“present dangers, as I esteem your honors and
“rewards equal to an immortality; yet were I
“still without them, I would remit nothing of
“my present zeal and perseverance. If in the
“multitude of excellent Citizens, I do not distin-
“guish myself by a singular vigor and industry,
“I desire no accession to my dignity from your
“favor: but in truth, I desire nothing at all for
“myself at present; nay am even against it; and
“willingly make you the arbiter both of the time

“ and the thing itself: a Citizen can think nothing
“ late or little, which is given by his country. I
“ passed the Rhone with my army by great jour-
“ neys, on the 26th of April: sent a thousand
“ horse before me by a shorter way from Vienna.
“ As for myself, if I am not hindered by Lepidus,
“ none shall complain of my want of expedition:
“ if he opposes me on my road, I shall take my
“ measures from the occasion: the troops which
“ I bring are for number, kind, and fidelity,
“ extremely firm. I beg the continuance of your
“ affection, as long as you find yourself assured of
“ mine. Adieu¹⁰⁹.”

Pollio likewise, who now commanded the farther Spain with three good Legions, though he was Antony's particular friend, yet made the strongest professions to Cicero of his resolution, to defend the Republic against all Invaders. In one of his Letters, after excusing himself, for not having written earlier and oftener, he says, “ both my
“ nature and studies draw me to the desire of
“ peace and liberty: for which reason I always
“ lamented the occasion of the late war: but as it
“ was not possible for me to be of no party,
“ because I had great enemies every where, I ran
“ from that camp, where I could not be safe from
“ the treachery of an enemy; and being driven
“ whither I least desired, freely exposed myself to
“ dangers, that I might not make a contemptible
“ figure among those of my rank. As for Cæsar
“ himself, I loved him with the utmost piety and
“ fidelity, because he treated me on the foot of

“ his oldest friends, though known to him only
“ in the height of his fortunes. When I was at
“ liberty to act after my own mind, I acted so,
“ that the best men should most applaud me: what
“ I was commanded to do, I did so, as to show,
“ that it was done by command, and not by
“ inclination. The unjust odium, which I suffered
“ on that account, has sufficiently convinced me
“ how sweet a thing liberty is, and how wretched
“ is life under the dominion of another. If the
“ contest then be, to bring us all again under the
“ power of one; whoever that one be, I profess
“ myself his enemy: nor is there any danger,
“ which I would decline, or wish to avoid, for
“ the sake of liberty. But the Consuls have not,
“ either by decree or Letters, given me any orders
“ what to do: I have had but one Letter from
“ Panfa, since the Ides of March; in which he
“ exhorts me, to signify to the Senate, that I and
“ my army would be in their power: but when
“ Lepidus was declaring openly to be his enemy,
“ and writing to every body, that he was in the
“ same sentiments with Antony, that step would
“ have been wholly absurd and improper for me:
“ for how could I get forage for my troops against
“ his will, in marching through his Province? or
“ if I had surmounted all other difficulties, could
“ I fly over the Alps, which were possessed by
“ his garrisons? — No body will deny, that I
“ declared publicly to my soldiers at Corduba,
“ that I would not deliver the Province to any
“ man, unless he were commissioned by the

“ Senate — wherefore you are to look upon me,
“ as one, who, in the first place, am extremely
“ desirous of peace, and the safety of all the
“ Citizens, in the second, prepared to assert my
“ own and my country’s liberty. I am more pleased,
“ than you can imagine, that my friend Gallus is
“ so dear to you: I envy him for walking, and
“ joking with you: you will ask perhaps, at what
“ rate I value that privilege: you shall know by
“ experience, if ever it be in our power to live
“ in quiet: for I will never stir one step from you.
“ I am surprised that you never signified in your
“ Letters, how I should be able to do the most
“ service, by staying in the Province, or bringing
“ my army into Italy. For my part, though to
“ stay be more safe, and less troublesome; yet
“ since I see, that in such a time as this, there
“ is more want of Legions than of Provinces,
“ which may easily be recovered, I am resolved,
“ as things now stand, to come away with
“ my army — From Corduba the fifteenth of
“ March¹¹⁰. ”

There are several Letters also still extant, written at this time from Cicero to Cornificius, who governed Africa; exhorting him in the same manner to firmness in the defence of the Republic, and to guard his Province from all Invaders, who should attempt to extort it from him: and this man, after all, was the only Commander, who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his Country; and lost his life at last in

maintaining that Province in it's allegiance to the Republicⁱⁱⁱ.

P. Servilius, who has often been mentioned in the debates of the Senate, was a person of great rank and nobility; had been Consul with J. Cæsar, in the beginning of the Civil war; the son of that Servilius, who by his conquest near mount Taurus, obtained the surname of Isauricus. He affected the character of a Patriot, but having had a particular friendship with Antony, was much courted by that party; who took the advantage of his vanity, to set him up as a Rival to Cicero in the management of public affairs: in which he frequently obstructed Cicero's measures, and took a pride to thwart and disappoint whatever he proposed: Cicero had long suffered this with patience, out of regard to the public service; till provoked by his late opposition in the affair of Plancus, he could not forbear treating him with an unusual severity and resentment; of which he gives an account in a Letter to Brutus.

Cicero to Brutus.

“ From Plancus's Letters, of which a copy, I
“ imagine, has been sent to you, you will perceive
“ his excellent disposition towards the Republic,
“ with the condition of his Legions, auxiliaries,
“ and whole forces. Your own people have
“ informed you, I guess, by this time, of the
“ levity, inconstancy, and perpetual disaffection of
“ your friend Lepidus; who, next to his own

“ brother, hates you, his near relation, the most.
“ We are anxious with an expectation, which is
“ now reduced to the last crisis: all our hopes are
“ fixed on the delivery of D. Brutus; for whom
“ we have been in great apprehension. For my
“ part, I have business enough on my hands at
“ home, with the Madman Servilius; whom I
“ have endured longer than became my dignity:
“ but I did it for the sake of the Republic; lest I
“ should give the disaffected a Leader, not well
“ affected indeed himself, yet noble to resort to;
“ which nevertheless they still do. But I was not
“ for alienating him wholly from the Republic:
“ I have now put an end to my forbearance of
“ him; for he began to be so insolent, that he
“ looked upon no man as free. But in Plancus’s
“ debate he was strangely mortified; and after
“ two days contest, was so roughly handled by
“ me, that he will be the modester, I dare say,
“ for the future. In the midst of our contention,
“ on the ninth of April, I had Letters delivered to
“ me in the Senate, from our friend Lentulus in
“ Asia; with an account of Cassius, the Legions,
“ and Syria; which when I read presently in
“ public, Servilius sunk, and many more besides;
“ for there are some of eminent rank, who think
“ most wickedly; but Servilius was most sensibly
“ chagrined, for the Senate agreeing to my motion
“ about Plancus. The part which he acts is
“ monstrous¹¹². ”

The news, which is mentioned in this Letter to have been sent by Lentulus, of Cassius’s success,

was soon after confirmed by particular Letters to Cicero, from Brutus and Cassius themselves; signifying, “that Cassius had possessed himself of Syria before Dolabella arrived there: that the Generals L. Murcus and Q. Crispus had given up their armies to him: that a separate Legion under Cæcilius Bassus had submitted to him against the will of their Leader: that four other Legions, sent by Cleopatra from Egypt, to the assistance of Dolabella, under his Lieutenant Allienus, had all declared for him:” and lest the first Letter should miscarry, as they often did, from such a distance, by passing through the enemy’s quarters, Cassius sent him a second, with a more full and distinct account of all particulars.

Cassius proconsul to his Friend M. Cicero.

“If you are in health, it is a pleasure to me, I am also very well. I have read your Letter, in which I perceived your wonderful affection for me: for you not only wish me well, which indeed you have always done, both for my own sake and the Republic’s, but entertain an uncommon concern and solicitude for me. Wherefore, as I imagined, in the first place, that you would think it impossible for me to sit still, and see the Republic oppressed; and in the second, that whenever you supposed me to be in action, you would be solicitous about my safety and success; so, as soon as I was master of the Legions, which Allienus brought from Egypt,

“ I immediately wrote to you, and sent several
“ expresses to Rome: I wrote Letters also to the
“ Senate, but forbad the delivery of them, till they
“ had been first shown to you. If these Letters
“ have not reached you, I make no doubt but
“ that Dolabella, who, by the wicked murder of
“ Trebonius, is master of Asia, has seized my
“ messengers, and intercepted them. I have all the
“ armies which were in Syria under my command;
“ and having been forced to sit still a while, till
“ I had discharged my promises to them, am now
“ ready to take the field. I beg of you to take
“ my honor and interests under your special care:
“ for you know that I have never refused any
“ danger or labor for the service of my country:
“ that by your advice and authority I took arms
“ against these infamous Robbers: that I have not
“ only raised armies for the defence of the Republic
“ and our liberty, but have snatched them from
“ the hands of the most cruel Tyrants: which if
“ Dolabella had seized before me, he would have
“ given fresh spirit to Antony's cause; not only
“ by the approach, but by the very fame and
“ expectation of his troops: for which reasons,
“ take my soldiers, I beseech you, under your
“ protection, if you think them to have deserved
“ well of the state: and let none of them have
“ reason to repent, that they have preferred the
“ cause of the Republic, to the hopes of plunder
“ and rapine. Take care also, as far as it is in
“ your power, that due honor be paid to the
“ Emperors Murcus and Crispus: for Bassus was

“ miserably unwilling to deliver up his Legion ;
“ and if his soldiers had not sent a deputation to
“ me in spite of him, would have held out Apamea
“ against me, till it could be taken by force. I
“ beg this of you, not only for the sake of the
“ Republic, which of all things was ever the
“ dearest to you, but of our friendship also, which
“ I am confident has a great weight with you.
“ Take my word for it, the army which I have
“ is the Senate’s, and every honest man’s, and
“ above all, your’s: for by hearing perpetually
“ of your good disposition, they have conceived
“ a wonderful affection for you; and when they
“ come to understand, that you make their interests
“ your special care, they will think themselves
“ indebted to you for every thing. Since I wrote
“ this I have heard that Dolabella is come into
“ Cilicia with all his forces: I will follow him
“ thither: and take care that you shall soon be
“ informed of what I have done. I wish only that
“ my success may be answerable to my good inten-
“ tions. Continue the care of your health and your
“ love to me ¹¹³. ”

Brutus, who had sent this good news before to Cicero, as well as to his mother, and sister Tertia, charged the latter, not to make it public till they had first consulted Cicero, whether it was proper to do so or not ¹¹⁴. He was afraid, lest the great prosperity of Cassius might give umbrage to the Cæsarian party; and raise a jealousy in the Leaders, who were acting against Antony, that the Republican interest would

grow too strong for them. But Cicero sent him word, that the news was already known at Rome, before his Letters arrived; and though there was some ground for his apprehensions, yet on the whole, they thought it more advisable to publish than to suppress it¹¹⁵.

Thus Cicero, as he declared to the Senate, by his Letters, expresses, and exhortations, was perpetually exciting all, who had power or command in any part of the Empire, to the common defence of their liberty¹¹⁶; and for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to struggle with at home. These were particularly troublesome to him at this time, by spreading false reports every day from Modena, of Antony's success, or what was more to be apprehended, of his union with the Consuls against D. Brutus: which raised such a terror through the City, that all honest men were preparing to run away to Brutus or Cassius¹¹⁷. Cicero however was not disheartened at it, but in the general consternation appeared chearful and easy; and, as he sends word to Brutus, had a perfect confidence in the Consuls, while the majority of his friends distrusted them, and from the number and firmness of their troops, had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to a battle with Antony¹¹⁸. But what touched him more sensibly, was a story, kept up for some days with great industry, that he had formed a design to make himself master of the City, and declare himself Dictator; and would appear

publicly with the Fasces within a day or two. The report, as groundless as it was, seems to have disturbed him; but when Appuleius, the Tribune, one of his warm friends, was taking pains to confute it, and justify him in a speech to the people, they all cried out with one voice, that Cicero had never done, nor designed to do any thing, but what was the best and most beneficial to the Republic¹¹⁹: this gave him some comfort: but what brought him much greater was, the certain news of a victory gained over Antony at Modena, which arrived within a few hours after Appuleius's speech¹²⁰.

The siege of Modena, which lasted near four months, was one of the most memorable in all antiquity, for the vigor both of the attack and the defence. Antony had invested it so closely and posted himself so advantageously, that no succours could be thrown into it: and Brutus, though reduced to the utmost straits, defended it still with the greatest resolution. The old writers have recorded some stratagems, which are said to have been put in practice on this occasion; "how Hirtius provided men skilled
" in diving, with Letters written on Lead, to pass
" into the Town under the river, which runs
" through it; till Antony obstructed that passage,
" by nets and traps placed under water; which
" gave occasion to another contrivance, of
" sending their intelligences backwards and for-
" wards by Pigeons¹²¹."

Pansa was now upon the point of joining

Hirtius, with four Legions of new levies, which he brought from Rome; but when he was advanced within a few miles of Hirtius's camp, Antony privately drew out some of his best troops, with design to surprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a Letter to Cicero from Serv. Galba, one of the Conspirators against Cæsar, who bore a principal part and command in it.

Galba to Cicero.

“ On the fifteenth of April, the day on
“ which Panfa was to arrive in Hirtius's camp,
“ (in whose company I was, for I went a hun-
“ dred miles to meet him, on purpose to hasten
“ his march) Antony drew out two of his Le-
“ gions, the second and thirty-fifth; and two
“ Prætorian cohorts; the one his own, the
“ other Silanus's, with part of the Evocati¹²²;
“ and came forward towards us, imagining,
“ that we had nothing but four Legions of new
“ Levies. But in the night, to secure our
“ march to the camp, Hirtius had sent us the
“ Martial Legion, which I used to command,
“ and two Prætorian cohorts. As soon as An-
“ tony's Horse appeared in fight, neither the
“ Martial Legion, nor the Prætorian cohorts,
“ could be restrained from attacking them; so
“ that when we could not hold them in, we

“ were obliged to follow them against our wills.
“ Antony kept his forces within Castel-Fran-
“ co¹²³; and being unwilling to have it
“ known, that he had his Legions with him,
“ showed only his horse and light-armed foot.
“ When Panfa saw the Martial Legion running
“ forward against his orders, he commanded
“ two of the new raised Legions to follow him.
“ As soon as we got through the straits of the
“ Morass and the woods, we drew up the
“ twelve cohorts in order of battle. The other
“ two Legions were not yet come up. Antony
“ immediately brought all his troops out of the
“ village, ranged likewise in order of battle,
“ and without delay engaged us. At first they
“ fought so briskly on both sides, that nothing
“ could possibly be fiercer, though the right
“ wing, in which I was, with eight cohorts of
“ the Martial Legion, put Antony's thirty-fifth
“ Legion to flight at the first onset, and pur-
“ sued it above five hundred paces from the
“ place where the action began: wherefore ob-
“ serving the enemy's horse attempting to sur-
“ round our wing, I began to retreat, and or-
“ dered the light-armed troops to make head
“ against the Moorish Horse, and prevent their
“ coming upon us behind. In the mean while
“ I perceived myself in the midst of Antony's
“ men, and Antony himself but a little way
“ behind me, upon which, with my shield
“ thrown over my shoulder, I pushed on my
“ horse with all speed towards the new Legion,

“ that was coming towards us from the camp:
“ and whilst Antony’s men were pursuing me,
“ and ours by mistake throwing javelins at me,
“ I was preserved, I know not how, by being
“ presently known to our soldiers. Cæsar’s Præ-
“ torian Cohort sustained the fight a long time
“ on the Æmilian road: but our left wing, which
“ was the weaker, consisting of two Cohorts of
“ the Martial Legion, and the Prætorian of
“ Hirtius, began to give ground, being sur-
“ rounded by Antony’s Horse, in which he is
“ very strong. When all our ranks had made
“ good their retreat, I retreated myself the last
“ to our Camp. Antony, as the Conqueror,
“ fancied that he could take it; but upon trial
“ lost many of his men in the attempt, without
“ being able to do us any hurt. Hirtius in the
“ mean time hearing of the engagement, marched
“ out with twenty veteran Cohorts, and meet-
“ ing Antony on his return, entirely routed and
“ put to flight his whole army, in the very same
“ place where they had fought before at Castel-
“ Franco. About ten at night Antony regained
“ his Camp at Modena, with all his Horse.
“ Hirtius retired to that camp which Panfa had
“ quitted in the morning, and where he left the
“ two Legions, which Antony attacked. Thus
“ Antony has lost the greater part of his veteran
“ troops, yet not without some loss of our
“ Prætorian Cohorts, and the Martial Legion:
“ we took two of Antony’s eagles, and sixty
“ standards; and have gained a considerable ad-
“ vantage¹¹⁴. ”

Besides this Letter from Galba, there came Letters also severally from the two Consuls and Octavius; confirming the other account with the addition of some farther particulars: that Panfa fighting bravely at the head of his troops, had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to Bologna: that Hirtius had scarce lost a single man: and that to animate his soldiers the better, he took up the Eagle of the fourth Legion, and carried it forward himself: that Cæsar was left to the guard of their Camp: where he was attacked likewise by another body of the enemy, whom he repulsed with great loss¹²⁵. Antony reproached him afterwards with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his Horse or General's habit: but the account just mentioned was given by Cicero from Letters, that were read to the Senate, in which Hirtius declared him to have acted with the greatest courage¹²⁶.

The news reached Rome on the twentieth of April, where it raised an incredible joy: and the greater, we may imagine, for the late terrors which they had suffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people assembled presently about Cicero's house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to the Capitol, whence on their return, they placed him in the Rostra, to give them an account of the victory; and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations: so that in a Letter upon it to Brutus, he says,
that

that he reaped on that day the full fruit of all his toils, if there be any fruit in true and solid glory¹²⁷.

The day following the Senate was summoned by Cornutus, the Prætor, to deliberate on the Letters of the Consuls and Octavius; Servilius's opinion was, "that the City should
" now quit the Sagum, and take the common
" gown again; and that a public Thanksgiving
" should be decreed jointly to the honor of the
" Consuls and Octavius." Cicero spoke next, and declared strongly "against quitting the Sagum,
" till D. Brutus was first delivered from the siege;
" that it would be ridiculous to put it off till
" they should see him in safety, for whose sake
" they had put it on—that the motion for quitting it, flowed from envy to D. Brutus; to
" deprive him of the glory that it would be to his
" name, to have it delivered to posterity; that
" the people of Rome had put on the Sagum for
" the danger, and resumed the gown for the preservation of one Citizen—he advised them therefore to continue in their former mind, of thinking the whole danger and stress of the war to
" depend on D. Brutus—and though there was
" reason to hope that he was already safe, or would
" shortly be so, yet they should reserve the
" fruit of that hope to fact and the event, lest
" they should be found too hasty in snatching
" the favor of the Gods, or foolish in contemning the power of fortune¹²⁸. — Then as to
" the decree of the Thanksgiving, he urges

“ Servilius with omitting two things in his vote,
“ which ought necessarily to have accompanied
“ it: the giving Antony the title of enemy,
“ and their own Generals, of Emperors ———
“ The swords of our soldiers are died,” says
he, “ or rather moistened only as yet with
“ blood: if it was the blood of enemies, it
“ was an act of the utmost piety; if of Citizens,
“ the most detestable wickedness: how long then
“ shall he, who has outdone all enemies in vil-
“ lany, go without the name of enemy? he
“ is now waging an inexpiable war with four
“ Consuls, with the Senate and people of Rome;
“ denounces plagues, devastation, the rack and
“ tortures to us all: confesses that Dolabella’s
“ horrid act, which no barbarians would own,
“ was done by his advice: declares what he
“ would have done to this City, by the Cala-
“ mity of the people of Parma, honest and
“ excellent men, firm to the interests of the
“ Senate and People; whom L. Antony, the
“ portent and disgrace of his species, put to
“ death by all the methods of cruelty¹²⁹. ———
“ That Hannibal was never so barbarous to
“ any City, as Antony to Parma. — He con-
“ jures them to remember, how much they
“ had all been terrified for two days past by
“ villanous reports spread about the City; and
“ were expecting either a wretched death, or
“ lamentable flight; and could they scruple to
“ call those men enemies, from whom they
“ feared such dreadful things? ——— he then

“ proposed to enlarge the number of days of the
“ Thanksgiving, since it was not to be decreed
“ to one, but to three Generals jointly; to
“ whom in the first place he would give the
“ title of Emperors — since there had not been
“ a supplication decreed without it for twenty
“ years past: so that Servilius should not either
“ have decreed it at all, or allowed the usual
“ honors to those, to whom even new and un-
“ usual honors were due¹³⁰. That, if accord-
“ ing to the present custom, the Title of Em-
“ peror was commonly given for killing a thou-
“ sand or two of Spaniards, Gauls, or Thracians;
“ how could they refuse it now, when so many
“ Legions were routed, and such a multitude
“ slain? — for with what honors,” says he,
“ and congratulations should our deliverers them-
“ selves be received into this Temple, when
“ yesterday, on the account of what they have
“ done, the people of Rome carried me into the
“ Capitol in a kind of Triumph; for that, af-
“ ter all, is a just and real Triumph, when by
“ the general voice of the City, a public Testi-
“ mony is given to those who have deserved
“ well of the Commonwealth. For if in the
“ common joy of the whole City they congra-
“ tulated me singly, it is a great declaration of
“ their judgment: if they thanked me, still
“ greater: if both, nothing can be imagined
“ more glorious — that he was forced to say
“ so much of himself against his will, by the
“ strange envy and injuries which he had lately

“ suffered ——— that the insolence of the Factious,
“ as they all knew, had raised a report and suspi-
“ cion upon him, of his aiming at a Tyran-
“ ny; though his whole life had been spent
“ in defending the Republic from it: as if he,
“ who had destroyed Catiline, for that very
“ crime, was of a sudden become a Catiline
“ himself¹³¹. That if the report had found cre-
“ dit in the City, their design was, by a sud-
“ den assault upon his person, as upon a Tyrant,
“ to have taken away his life ——— that the thing
“ itself was manifest, and the whole affair should
“ be laid open in proper time ——— that he had
“ said all this, not to purge himself to them, to
“ whom he should be sorry to want an apolo-
“ gy; but to admonish certain persons of je-
“ lous and narrow minds, to look upon the
“ virtue of excellent Citizens, as the object of
“ their imitation, not of their envy: since the
“ Republic was a wide field, where the course
“ of glory was open to many¹³²: that if any
“ man contested with him the first place in the
“ government, he acted foolishly, if he meant
“ to do it by opposing vice to virtue: that as
“ the race was gained by running the fastest, so
“ virtue was only to be conquered by a supe-
“ rior virtue ——— that they could never get the
“ better of him by bad votes; by good ones
“ perhaps they might, and he himself should
“ be glad of it ——— that the people of Rome
“ were perpetually inquiring, how men of their
“ rank voted and acted; and formed their judge-

“ ment of them accordingly ——— that they all
“ remembered, how in December last, he was
“ the author of the first step towards recover-
“ ing their liberty: how from the first of Ja-
“ nuary he had been continually watching over
“ the safety of the Commonwealth: how his
“ house and his ears were open day and night
“ to the advices and informations of all who
“ came to him: how his opinion always was
“ against an Embassy to Antony: how he had
“ always voted him an enemy, and their present
“ state, a war: but as oft as he mentioned an
“ enemy or a war, the Consuls had always dropt
“ his motion, from the number of those that
“ were proposed¹³³: which could not, however,
“ be done in the present case, because he, who
“ had already voted a Thanksgiving, had un-
“ warily voted Antony an enemy; since a
“ Thanksgiving had never been decreed but
“ against enemies; and never asked or granted
“ in what was properly a civil war ——— that
“ they should either have denied it, or must of
“ course decree those to be enemies, for whose
“ defeat it was granted. Then after flourish-
“ ing on the particular merit of three Gene-
“ rals, Panfa, Hirtius, Octavius; and showing
“ how well they had each deserved the name
“ of Emperor, he decrees a Thanksgiving of
“ fifty days in the name of the three jointly¹³⁴.”

In the last place, he proceeds to speak of the rewards due to the soldiers, and especially of the honors to be paid to those who had lost their

lives in the defence of their country. —

“ For these, he proposes a splendid monument
“ to be erected in common to them all, at the
“ public charge, with their names and services
“ inscribed” — and in recommending it, breaks
out into a kind of funeral Elogium upon them —
“ Oh happy death,” says he, “ which when due
“ to nature, was paid to your country! for I
“ cannot but look upon you as born for your
“ country, whose name is even derived from
“ Mars: as if the same God, who gave birth
“ to this City, for the good of nations, had
“ given birth also to you, for the good of this
“ City. Death in flight is scandalous; in vic-
“ tory glorious; wherefore whilst those impi-
“ ous wretches, whom you slew, will suffer
“ the punishment of their parricide in the infer-
“ nal regions; you, who breathed your last in
“ victory, have obtained the place and seat of
“ the p^e us. The life given to us by nature is
“ short; but the memory of a life well spent,
“ everlasting: if it were not longer than this
“ life, who would be so mad, at the expense
“ of the greatest pains and danger, to contend
“ for the prize of glory? your lot therefore is
“ happy, O you, while you lived, the bravest,
“ now the holiest of soldiers: for the fame of
“ your virtue can never be lost, either by the
“ forgetfulness of those who are now alive, or
“ the silence of those who shall come hereafter;
“ since the Senate and people of Rome have
“ raised to you, as it were, with their own
“ hand an immortal monument. There have

“ been many great and famous armies in the
“ Punic, Gallic, Italic, wars; yet no such ho-
“ nor was ever done to any of them. I wish
“ that we could still do greater, since you have
“ done the greatest services to us: you drove
“ Antony mad with rage, from the City: you
“ repulsed him when he attempted to return:
“ a fabric therefore shall be erected of magnificent
“ work; and letters engraved upon it, the eter-
“ nal witnesses of your divine virtue; nor will
“ those who see or hear of your monument,
“ ever cease talking of you: so that instead
“ of this frail and mortal condition of life, you
“ have now acquired an immortality¹³⁵. ”——
“ He then renews their former assurances to the
“ old Legions, of the full and punctual pay-
“ ment of all, which had been promised to them,
“ as soon as the war should be over; and for
“ those, in the mean time, who had lost their
“ lives for their country, he proposes, that
“ the same rewards which would have been
“ given to them if they had lived, should be
“ given immediately to their parents, children,
“ wives, or brothers. ”—— All which he in-
cludes, as usual, in the form of a decree, which
was ratified by the Senate.

Antony being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himself close within his Camp, and resolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act only on the defensive; except by harassing the enemy with his Horse, in which he was far superior. He still hoped to make himself master of Modena, which

was reduced to extremity ; and by the strength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. Hirtius and Octavius, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it ; and after two or three days spent in finding the most likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with such vigor, that Antony, rather than suffer the town to be snatched at last out of his hands, chose to draw out his Legions, and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obstinate ; and Antony's men though obliged to give ground, bravely disputed every inch of it : till D. Brutus, taking the opportunity at the same time to fall out of the Town, at the head of his garrison, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory : Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way into Antony's Camp ; but when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the General's Tent : Pontius Aquila, one of the Conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place : but Octavius, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the Camp, with the entire defeat and destruction of Antony's best troops : while Antony himself, with all his horse, fled with great precipitation towards the Alps. Some writers give a different relation of this action, but from the facts and circumstances of it, delivered by Cicero, this appears to be the genuine account. The Consul Panfa died the day following of his wounds at Bononia¹¹⁶.

S E C T. X I.

THE entire defeat of Antony's army made all people presently imagine, that the war was at an end, and the liberty of Rome established : which would probably have been the case, if Antony had either perished in the action, or the Consuls survived it : but the death of the Consuls, though not felt so sensibly at first, in the midst of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all Cicero's schemes ; and was the immediate cause of the ruin of the Republic'. Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness ; intimately intrusted with Cæsar's counsels, and employed to write his acts : but as he was the proper creature of Cæsar, and strongly infected with party, so his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his Patron, not the public. In the beginning therefore of the civil war, when he was Tribune of the people, he published a law, to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or Office in the state² : which made him particularly obnoxious to the Pompeians, who considered him as their most inveterate enemy. Panfa, whose Father had been proscribed by Sylla³, was attached with equal zeal to Cæsar, as to the head and reviver of the Marian cause ; and served him in all his wars with singular affection and fidelity ; he was a grave, sincere,

A. Urb. 710:

Cic. 64.

and worthy man; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than Hirtius, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed Pompeians; many of whom he relieved by his humanity; and restored by his interest to the City and their estates⁴. This made him very popular, and gained him the esteem of all the honest; so that Cassius, in defending his Epicurism to Cicero, alledges Pansa, as an example of those genuine Epicureans, who placed their pleasure or chief good in virtuous acts⁵. Before their entrance into the Consulship, Quintus Cicero gave a most wretched account of them both; “as
“ of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit to be trusted
“ with the command of a paultry Town, much
“ less of the Empire;” and says, “that if they
“ were not removed from the helm, the Republic
“ would certainly be lost; since Antony would
“ easily draw them into a partnership of his crimes;
“ for when he served with them in Gaul, he had
“ seen incredible instances of their effeminacy and
“ debauchery, in the face even of the enemy.”—
But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness and envy of Quintus: for whatever they had been before, they were certainly good Consuls; and out of their affection to Cicero, and regard to his authority, governed themselves generally in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were persuaded, that the design of revenging Cæsar’s death would throw the Republic again into convulsions; and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of possessing Cæsar’s place; and

resolved therefore to quell by open force all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæsar, they retained indeed some prejudices in favor of that party ; and were loth to proceed to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero some reason to blame, but never to distrust them ; to complain of their phlegm and want of vigor, as detrimental to the common cause : yet while they were generally suspected by others, he always thought them sincere, though they did not in all cases act up to his wishes. The event confirmed his judgment of them : for they both not only exposed, but lost their lives with the greatest courage in the defence of the Republic ; and showed themselves to be the very men, which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be ; and though he imputes some little blame to Hirtius, yet of Pansa, he declares, that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last⁷.

If they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty ; and sustain the tottering Republic, till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their assistance ; and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their Consulship of the next year : all whose armies, together with the African Legions, were far superior to any force that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two Consuls placed Octavius at

once above control, by leaving him the master of both their armies : especially of all the veterans ; who were disaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him : and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion, that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance : for he was observed to be the first man who took up Hirtius's body in the Camp ; where some imagined him to have been killed by his own soldiers ; and Panfa's Physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into Prison by Torquatus, Panfa's Quæstor, upon a suspicion of having poisoned his wounds*. But the chief ground of that notion seems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the interests of Octavius : for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and in the most pressing manner begged of Cicero, to procure Glyco's enlargement, and protect him from any harm ; as being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a villany ; and who, of all others, suffered the greatest loss by Panfa's death*.

Cicero was soon aware of the dangerous turn which this event was likely to give to their affairs ; and within a day or two after the news, intimates his apprehension of it to Brutus :
“ Young Cæsar,” says he, “ has a wonderful dis-
“ position to virtue : I wish that I may govern
“ him as easily, in all this height of honor and
“ power, as I have hitherto done : the thing is
“ now much harder ; yet I do not despair of it :
“ for the youth is persuaded, and chiefly by

“ me, that we owe our present safety to him:
“ and in truth, if he had not at first driven
“ Antony from the City, all had been lost ¹⁰. ”
But as he found Octavius grow daily more and more untractable, so he began to exhort and implore Brutus in every Letter, to bring his army into Italy, as the only thing which could save them in their present circumstances : and to enforce his own authority, he procured a vote also of the Senate, to call him home with his Legions to the defence of the Republic ¹¹.

At Rome, however, the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss of their Consuls; and Antony's friends were so dejected for some time, that they gave Cicero no more opposition in the Senate : where he poured out all imaginable honors on the deceased, Hirtius, Pansa and Aquila; decreed an ovation to Cæsar ; and added a number of days to their Thanksgiving, in honor of D. Brutus : whose deliverance happening to fall upon his birth-day, he decreed likewise, that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the Fasti or public Kalendars, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony's adherents were also declared enemies : in which number Servilius himself included Ventidius ; and moved, to give Cassius the command of the war against Dolabella ; to whom Cicero joined Brutus, in case that he should find it useful to the Republic ¹².

The decree of an Ovation to Octavius was blamed by Brutus and his friends ¹³ : yet seems to have been wisely and artfully designed : for

while it carried an appearance of honor, it would regularly have stript him of his power, if he had made use of it: since his commission was to expire of course, and his army to be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the City: but the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those who had the power to dispense with them.

The Commanders abroad were so struck with Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to Cicero of their firmness and zeal for the common cause. Lepidus especially, who had suffered two of his Lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo, to carry succours to Antony at Modena, labors to excuse it in a civil and humble strain, and to persuade Cicero, "that they had done it against
" his orders; and though, for their former relation
" to him, he was unwilling to punish them with
" the last severity, yet he had not since employed
" or received them even into his Camp. He acquaints him, that Antony was arrived in his
" Province, with one Legion, and a great multitude of men unarmed, but with all his Horse,
" which was very strong; and that Ventidius
" had joined him with three Legions: that he
" was marching out against him with all his
" forces; and that many of Antony's Horse and
" Foot daily deserted him. — That for himself,
" he would never be wanting in his duty to the
" Senate and the Republic — thanks him for not
" giving credit to the false reports which were
" spread of him: and above all, for the late honors

“ that he had decreed to him — begs him to expect
“ every thing from him, which could be expected
“ from an honest man, and to take him under his
“ special protection ¹⁴. ”

Pollio still more explicitly, “ that there
“ was no time now for loitering, or expecting
“ the orders of the Senate — that all who wished
“ to preserve the Empire, and the very name of
“ the Roman people, ought to lend their present
“ help — That nothing was more dangerous, than
“ to give Antony leisure to recollect himself. —
“ That for his part, he would neither desert nor
“ survive the Republic — was grieved only for
“ his being at such a distance that he could not
“ come so soon as he wished to its relief, &c. ¹⁵. ”

Plancus sent word, “ that he was taking
“ all possible care to oppress Antony, if he
“ came into that country. — That if he came
“ without any considerable body of troops, he
“ should be able to give a good account of
“ him, though he should be received by Lepidus;
“ or if he brought any force with him, would
“ undertake that he should do no harm in those
“ parts, till they could send him succours suffi-
“ cient to destroy him — that he was then
“ in a treaty with Lepidus, about uniting their
“ forces in the same cause, by the mediation of
“ Laterensis and Furnius; nor would be hin-
“ dered by his private quarrel with the man, from
“ concurring with his greatest enemy in the
“ service of the commonwealth ¹⁶. ” In an-
other Letter he speaks with great contempt of

“ Antony’s shattered forces, though joined with
“ those of Ventidius, the Mule-driver, as he
“ calls him; and is confident, that if he could
“ have met with them, they would not have
“ stood an hour before him ”.

The Conquerors at Modena were much censured in the mean time for giving Antony leisure to escape: but Octavius from the beginning had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced Antony’s power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the Empire; of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment: whereas if Antony had been wholly destroyed, together with the Consuls, the Republican party would have probably been too strong for him and Lepidus; who, though Master of a good army, was certainly a weak General¹³: when he was pressed therefore to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it, till it was too late; taking himself to be more usefully employed, in securing to his interests the troops of the Consuls.

Cicero was particularly disgusted at Antony’s escape; and often expostulates upon it with D. Brutus: he tells him, “ that if Antony
“ should ever recover strength again, all his
“ great services to the Republic would come
“ to nothing — it was reported, ” says he, “ at
“ Rome, and all people believed it, that he was
“ fled with a few unarmed, dispirited men;
“ and himself almost broken-hearted: but if it
be

“ be so with him, as I hear it is, that you can-
“ not fight him again without danger; he does
“ not seem to have fled from Modena, but to
“ have changed only the seat of the war.
“ Wherefore men are now quite different from
“ what they were: some even complain that
“ you did not pursue him; and think that he
“ might have been destroyed, if diligence had
“ been used: such is the temper of people, and
“ above all of ours, to abuse their liberty against
“ those by whom they obtained it; it is your
“ part, however, to take care that there be no
“ real ground of complaint. The truth of the
“ case is, he who oppresses Antony, puts an
“ end to the war. What the force of that is,
“ it is better for you to consider, than for me
“ to write more explicitly ”.

D. Brutus, in his answer, gives him the reasons why he could not follow Antony so soon as he wished: “ I had no horse, ” says he, “ no
“ carriages; did not know that Hirtius was killed;
“ had no confidence in Cæsar, before I met and
“ talked with him; thus the first day passed. The
“ next morning early I was sent for by Panfa to
“ Bononia; but on the road met with an account
“ of his death: I ran back to my little army; for
“ so I may truly call it: it is extremely reduced,
“ and in sad condition for want of all things: so
“ that Antony gained two days of me, and made
“ much greater journeys in flying, than I could
“ in pursuing; for his troops went straggling;
“ mine in order. Wherever he passed, he opened

“ all the prisons, carried away the men, and stopt
 “ no where till he came to the Fords. This place
 “ lies between the Appennine and the Alps; a
 “ most difficult country to march through: when
 “ I was thirty miles from him, and Ventidius had
 “ already joined him, a copy of his speech was
 “ brought to me, in which he begs of his soldiers
 “ to follow him cross the Alps; and declares, that
 “ he acted in concert with Lepidus: but the
 “ soldiers cried out, especially those of Ventidius,
 “ for he has very few of his own that they would
 “ either conquer or perish in Italy; and began
 “ to beg, that he would go to Pollentia: when he
 “ could not over-rule them, he put off his march
 “ to the next day. Upon this intelligence, I pre-
 “ sently sent five Cohorts before me to Pollentia,
 “ and followed them myself with the army: my
 “ detachment came to the place an hour before
 “ Trebellius, with Antony's Horse: this gave me
 “ an exceeding joy; for I esteem it equal to a
 “ victory, &c.²⁰”

In another Letter he says, “ that if Cæsar
 “ would have been persuaded by him to cross
 “ the Appennine, he could have reduced Antony
 “ to such straits, that he must have been destroyed
 “ by want rather than the sword: but that they
 “ could neither command Cæsar, nor Cæsar his
 “ own troops; both which circumstances were very
 “ bad, &c.²¹” This authentic account from
 D. Brutus confutes two facts, which are delivered
 by an old Historian, and generally received by all
 the moderns; first, that Octavius, after the victory,

refused to have any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus, for that reason, forbade him to enter his Province, or to pursue Antony: secondly, that Panfa, in his last moments, sent for Octavius, and advised him to an union with Antony against the Senate²². For it is evident, that on the very day of the victory, there was actually a conference between the two first; which passed in so amicable a manner, as to ease Brutus of the jealousy which he had before conceived of Octavius: and Panfa's death happened so early the next morning, that it left no room for the pretended advice and speech which is made for him to Octavius: especially since it appears on the contrary, that instead of Octavius, Panfa really sent for D. Brutus, when he found himself dying, as if disposed rather to communicate something for the service of that cause, in which he had lost his life. But both the stories were undoubtedly forged afterwards, to save Octavius's honor, and give a better color to that sudden change of measures, which from this hour he was determined to pursue²³.

C. Antony was still a prisoner with M. Brutus, whose indulgence gave him an opportunity of practising upon the soldiers, and raising a sedition in the Camp, which created no small trouble to Brutus. The soldiers, however, soon repented of their rashness, and killed the authors of it; and would have killed Antony too, if Brutus would have delivered him into their hands: but he could not be induced to take his life, though

this was the second offence of the same kind ; but pretending , that he would order him to be thrown into the Sea , sent him to be secured on ship-board , either from doing or suffering any farther mischief ²⁴ : of which he wrote an account to Cicero , who returned the following answer.

“ As to the sedition in the fourth Legion about
“ C. Antony , you will take what I say in good
“ part ; I am better pleased with the severity of
“ the soldiers than with yours. I am extremely
“ glad that you have had a trial of the affection
“ of your Legions and the Horse — as to what
“ you write , that I am pursuing the Antonys
“ much at my ease , and praise me for it ; I
“ suppose you really think so : but I do not by any
“ means approve your distinction , when you say ,
“ that our animosity ought to be exerted rather in
“ preventing civil wars, than in revenging ourselves
“ on the vanquished. I differ widely from you ,
“ Brutus , not that I yield to you in clemency ;
“ but a salutary severity is always preferable to
“ a specious show of mercy. If we are so fond
“ of pardoning , there will be no end of civil
“ wars : but you are to look to that : for I can
“ say of myself , what Plautus’s old man says in
“ the Trinummus ; life is almost over with me ;
“ it is you who are the most interested in it. You
“ will be undone , Brutus , believe me , if you do
“ not take care ; for you will not always have the
“ people , nor the Senate , nor a Leader of the
“ Senate , the same as now. Take this , as from

“ the Pythian Oracle ; nothing can be more
“ true ” . ”

Brutus's wife, Porcia, notwithstanding the tragical story which the old writers have dressed up, of the manner of her killing herself upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate ²⁶, died most probably about this time at Rome of a lingering illness. She seems to have been in a bad state of health when Brutus left Italy, where she is said to have parted from him with the utmost grief and floods of tears, as if conscious that she was taking her last leave of him : and Plutarch says, that there was a Letter of Brutus extant in his days, if it was genuine, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her last sickness : this, however, is certain, that in a Letter to Atticus, he gives a hint of Porcia's indisposition, with a slight compliment to Atticus for his care of her ²⁷ : and the following Letter of condolence to him from Cicero, can hardly be applied to any other occasion but that of her death.

Cicero to Brutus.

“ I should perform the same office which you
“ formerly did in my loss, of comforting you by
“ Letter, did I not know that you cannot want
“ those remedies in your grief, with which you
“ relieved mine. I wish only that you may now
“ cure yourself more easily than at that time you
“ cured me : for it would be strange in so great a

“ man as you, not to be able to practise what he
“ had prescribed to another. As for me, not only
“ the reasons which you then collected, but your
“ very authority deterred me from indulging my
“ sorrow to excess. For when you thought me to
“ behave myself, with greater softness than became
“ a man, especially one who used to comfort
“ others, you chid me with more severity than
“ it was usual for you to express: so that, out of
“ a reverence to your judgment, I roused myself:
“ and by the accession of your authority, took
“ every thing that I had learnt or read, or heard
“ on that subject, to have the greater weight. Yet
“ my part, Brutus, at that time was only to act
“ agreeably to duty and to Nature: but your’s,
“ as we say, is to be acted on the stage, and before
“ the people. For when the eyes, not only of
“ your army, but of all the City, nay, of all the
“ world, are upon you, it is wholly indecent for
“ one, by whom we other mortals are made the
“ stoutest, to betray any dejection or want of
“ courage. You have suffered, indeed, a great
“ loss; (for you have lost that, which has not
“ left its fellow on earth) and must be allowed to
“ grieve under so cruel a blow; left to want all
“ sense of grief should be thought more wretched
“ than grief itself: but to do it with moderation,
“ is both useful to others, and necessary to yourself.
“ I would write more, if this was not already too
“ much: we expect you and your army: without
“ which, though all other things succeed to our
“ wishes, we shall hardly ever be free ²⁸. ”

As the time of chusing Magistrates now drew on , and particularly of filling up the Colleges of Priests , in which there were many vacancies ; so Brutus was sending home many of his young Nobles to appear as Candidates at the election ; the two Bibulus , Domitius , Cato , Lentulus , whom he severally recommends to Cicero's protection. Cicero was desirous that his son also should come with them , to be elected a Priest ; and wrote to Brutus , to know his mind about it ; and , if he thought proper , to send him away immediately ; for though he might be chosen in absence , yet his success would be much easier if he was present²⁹. He touches this little affair in several of his Letters ; but finding the public disorders increase still every day , he procured the election of Priests to be thrown off to the next year : and Brutus having sent him word in the mean while , that his son had actually left him , and was coming towards Rome , he instantly dispatched a messenger , to meet him on the road , with orders to send him back again , though he found him landed in Italy : since nothing , he says , could be more agreeable either to himself , or more honorable to his son , than his continuance with Brutus³⁰.

Not long after the battle of Modena , the news of Dolabella's defeat and death from Asia , brought a fresh occasion of joy to Cicero , and his friends at Rome. Dolabella , after his success against Trebonius , having pillaged that Province of it's money , and of all things useful for war , marched forward to execute his grand

design upon Syria; for which he had been making all this preparation: but Cassius was beforehand with him, and having got possession of that Country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. Dolabella, however, made his way with some success through Cilicia, and came before Antioch in Syria, but was denied admittance into it; and after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to Laodicea; which had before invited, and now opened it's gates to him. Here Cassius came up with him, and presently invested the place: where, after he had destroyed Dolabella's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea, as well as land: till Dolabella, seeing no way to escape, and the Town unable to hold out any longer, killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into Cassius's hands, and suffering the same treatment, which he had shown to Trebonius: but Cassius generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his Lieutenant Octavius, who killed himself also with him³¹.

D. Brutus was now at last pursuing Antony, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had with him, besides his own forces, the new Legions of the late Consuls, while all the Veterans put themselves under the command of Octavius: so that after Antony was joined by Ventidius with three Legions, Brutus was hardly strong enough either to fight with him, or, what he rather aimed at, to hinder his crossing

the Alps to Lepidus. He desired Cicero therefore, to write to Lepidus, not to receive him, though he was sure, he says, that Lepidus would never do any thing that was right; and wishes likewise, that Cicero would confirm Plancus; since by some of Antony's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived, that Antony had not lost all hopes of him; and thought himself sure of Lepidus and Pollio. Of which he gave Plancus immediate notice, and signified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him ³². But he complains much in all his Letters, of his want of money, and the sad condition of his army; which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of his troops; being of the most part, new raised men, bare and needy of all things ³³. "I cannot," says he, "maintain my soldiers any longer. When I first undertook to free the Republic, I had above three hundred thousand pounds of my own in money: but now am so far from having any thing, that I have involved all my friends in debt for me. I have seven Legions to provide for; consider with what difficulty: had I the treasures of Varro, I could not support the expense ³⁴." He desired therefore a present supply of money, and some Veteran Legions, especially the fourth and Martial which continued still with Octavius. This was decreed to him readily with the Senate, at the motion of Drusus and Paulus, Lepidus's

brother³: but Cicero wrote him word, “ that
“ all, who knew those Legions the best, affirm-
“ ed, that they would not be induced by any
“ terms to serve under him: that money, how-
“ ever, should certainly be provided for him ” —
and concludes by observing, “ that if Lepidus
“ should receive Antony, it would throw them
“ again into great difficulties: but that it was
“ Brutus’s part, to take care that they should
“ have no cause to fear the event: for as to
“ himself, that he could not possibly do more,
“ than he had already done : but wished to see
“ D. Brutus the greatest and most illustrious
“ of men ” .”

Plancus, as it is hinted above, was carrying on a negociation with Lepidus, to unite their forces against Antony: it was managed on Plancus’s side by Furnius; on Lepidus’s, by Laterensis, one of his Lieutenants; a true friend to the Republic, and zealous to engage his General to his interests; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity; so that Plancus was marching forward in great haste to join with him; of which he gave Cicero a particular account.

Plancus to Cicero.

“ After I had written my Letters, I thought
“ it of service to the public, that you should be
“ informed of what has since happened. My di-
“ ligence, I hope, has been of use both to myself

“ and to the Commonwealth: for I have been
“ treating with Lepidus by perpetual messages;
“ that laying aside all former quarrels, he would
“ be reconciled, and succour the Republic in
“ common with me, and show more regard to
“ himself, his children, and the City, than to a
“ desperate abandoned Robber; in which case he
“ might depend on my service and assistance for
“ all occasions: I transacted the affair by Laterensis.
“ He pawned his faith, that if he could not keep
“ Antony out of his Province, he would pursue
“ him, by open war; begged that I would come
“ and join forces with him, and so much the more,
“ because Antony was said to be strong in Horse;
“ whereas Lepidus’s could hardly be called indif-
“ ferent: for not many days before, even out of
“ his small number, ten, who were reckoned his
“ best, came over to me. As soon as I was in-
“ formed of this, I resolved without delay, to
“ support Lepidus in the execution of his good
“ intentions: I saw, of what benefit my joining
“ him would be, either for pursuing and destroying
“ Antony’s Horse with mine, or for correcting
“ and restraining, by the presence of my army,
“ the corrupt and disaffected part of Lepidus’s.
“ Having made a bridge therefore in one day
“ over the Isere, a very great river in the territory
“ of the Allobroges, I passed with my army on
“ the twelfth of May: but having been informed
“ that L. Antony was sent before with some Horse
“ and Cohorts to Forum Julii, I had sent my bro-
“ ther the day before with four thousand Horse

“ to meet with him, intending to follow myself
“ by great journeys with four Legions, and the
“ rest of my Horse, without the heavy baggage.
“ If we have any tolerable fortune for the Repub-
“ lic, we shall here put an end to the audacious-
“ ness of the desperate; and to all our own trou-
“ ble: but if the Robber, upon hearing of my
“ arrival, should run back again into Italy, it will
“ be Brutus’s part to meet with him there: who
“ will not be wanting, I know either in counsel,
“ or courage, but if that should happen, I will
“ send my brother also with the Horse, to follow
“ and preserve Italy from being ravaged by him.
“ Take care of your health, and love me as I
“ love you³⁷. ” —

But Lepidus was acting all the while a treacherous part being determined at all hazards to support Antony; and though he kept him at a distance for some time, and seemed to be constrained at last by his own soldiers to receive him; yet that was only to save appearances, till he could do it with advantage and security to them both: his view in treating with Plancus was probably to amuse and draw him so near to them, that when he and Antony were actually joined, they might force him into the same measures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point therefore of joining camps with Antony, he sent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he then was, till he should come up to him: but Plancus suspecting nothing, thought it

better still to march on; till Laterensis, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word in all haste, that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted; and that he himself was deserted; exhorting "Plancus to look to himself, lest he
" should be drawn into a Snare, and to perform
" his duty to the Republic; for that he had discharged his faith, by giving him this warning,
" &c. ³⁸."

Plancus gave Cicero a particular account of all these transactions; he acquaints him, "that Lepidus
" and Antony joined their camps on the twenty-
" eighth of May, and the same day marched forward towards him: of all which he knew nothing, till they were come within twenty miles
" of him: that upon the first intelligence of it,
" he retreated in all haste; repassed the Isere,
" and broke down the bridges which he had built
" upon it, that he might have leisure to draw all
" his forces together, and join them with his
" Colleague D. Brutus, whom he expected in three
" days — that Laterensis, whose singular fidelity
" he should ever acknowledge, when he found
" himself duped by Lepidus, laid violent hands
" upon himself; but being interrupted in the act,
" was thought likely to live — he desires that
" Octavius might be sent to him with his forces;
" or if he could not come in person, that his
" army, however, might be sent, since his interest
" was so much concerned in it — that as the whole
" body of the rebels was now drawn into one
" Camp, they ought to act against them with the
" whole force of the Republic, &c. ³⁹."

The day after his union with Antony, Lepidus wrote a short Letter to the Senate, wherein, he
“ calls the gods and men to witness, that he had
“ nothing so much at heart as the public safety
“ and liberty; of which he should shortly have
“ given them proofs, had not fortune prevented
“ him: for that his soldiers, by a general mutiny
“ and sedition, had plainly forced him to take so
“ great a multitude of Citizens under his protection.
“ He beseeches them, that laying aside all their
“ private grudges, they would consult the good
“ of the whole Republic; nor in a time of civil
“ dissension treat his clemency, and that of his
“ army, as criminal and traitorous⁴⁰. ”

D. Brutus on the other hand joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him for some time with great concord, and the affection of the whole Province on their side: which being signified in their common Letters to Rome, gave great hopes still and courage to all the honest there. In a Letter of Plancus to Cicero, “ you know, ” says he, “ I imagine, the state of our forces: in my
“ camp there are three veteran Legions, with
“ one new, but the best of all others of that sort:
“ in Brutus’s, one veteran Legion, another of two
“ years standing, eight of new levies: so that our
“ whole army is great in number, little in strength:
“ for what small dependence there is in a fresh
“ soldier, we have oft experienced to our cost.
“ If the African troops, which are veteran, or
“ Cæsar’s should join us, we should willingly put
“ all to the hazard of a battle: as I saw Cæsar’s

“ to be the nearest, so I have never ceased to
“ press him, nor he to assure me that he would
“ come instantly, though I perceive that he had
“ no such thought, and is quite gone off into
“ other measures: yet I have sent our friend
“ Furnius again to him, with Letters and in-
“ structions, if he can possibly do any good
“ with him. You know, my dear Cicero, that
“ as to the love of young Cæsar, it belongs to
“ me in common with you: for on the account
“ either of my intimacy with his uncle when
“ alive, it was necessary for me to protect and
“ cherish him; or because he himself, as far as
“ I have been able to observe, is of a most
“ moderate and gentle disposition; or that af-
“ ter so remarkable a friendship with C. Cæsar,
“ it would be a shame for me not to love him,
“ even as my own child, whom he had adopted
“ for his son. But what I now write, I write
“ out of grief, rather than ill-will: that An-
“ tony now lives: that Lepidus is joined with
“ him; that they have no contemptible army;
“ that they have hopes, and dare pursue them,
“ is all entirely owing to Cæsar. I will not re-
“ cal what is long since passed: but if he had
“ come at the time, when he himself declared
“ that he would, the war would have been ei-
“ ther now ended, or removed, to their great
“ disadvantage, into Spain, a Province utterly
“ averse to them. What motive, or whose coun-
“ sels drew him off from a part so glorious, nay,
“ so necessary too, and salutary to himself, and

“ turned him so absurdly to the thoughts of a
“ two months Consulship, to the terror of all
“ people, I cannot possibly comprehend. His
“ friends seem capable of doing much good on
“ this occasion, both to himself and the Republic;
“ and above all others, you; to whom he has
“ greater obligations than any man living,
“ except myself; for I shall never forget that I am
“ indebted to you for the greatest. I have given
“ order to Furnius to treat with him on these
“ affairs; and if I had as much authority with
“ him as I ought, should do him great service.
“ We in the mean time have a very hard part to
“ sustain in the war: for we neither think it safe
“ to venture a battle, nor yet by turning our backs,
“ to give the enemy an opportunity of doing
“ greater mischief to the Republic: but if either
“ Cæsar would regard his honor, or the African
“ Legions come quickly, we shall make you all
“ easy from this quarter. I beg you to continue
“ your affection to me, and assure yourself that
“ I am strictly yours ⁴¹. ”

Upon the news of Lepidus's union with Antony, the Senate, after some little time spent in considering the effect of it, being encouraged, by the concord of D. Brutus and Plancus, and depending on the fidelity of their united forces, voted Lepidus an enemy, on the thirtieth of June; and demolished the gilt statue, which they had lately erected to him; reserving still a liberty to him and his adherents of returning to their duty by the first of September ⁴². Lepidus's wife was

M. Brutus's sister; by whom he had sons, whose fortunes were necessarily ruined by this vote, which confiscated the Father's estate: for which reason Servilia, their grandmother, and Cassius's wife, their aunt, solicited Cicero very earnestly, either that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it: but Cicero could not consent to oblige them: for since the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course: he gave Brutus, however, a particular account of the case by Letter.

Cicero to Brutus.

“ Though I was just going to write to you
“ by Messala Corvinus, yet I would not let our
“ friend Vetus come without a Letter. The
“ Republic, Brutus, is now in the utmost dan-
“ ger, and after we had conquered, we are
“ forced again to fight, by the perfidy and mad-
“ nefs of M. Lepidus. On which occasion,
“ when for the care, with which I have charged
“ myself, of the Republic, I had many things
“ to make me uneasy, yet nothing vexed me
“ more, than that I could not yield to the
“ prayers of your mother and sister; for I ima-
“ gined, that I should easily satisfy you, on
“ which I lay the greatest stress. For Lepi-
“ dus's case could not by any means be distin-
“ guished from Antony's; nay in all people's
“ judgment, was even worse; since after he
“ had received the highest honors from the

“ Senate and but a few days before had sent an
“ excellent Letter to them; on a sudden, he
“ not only received the broken remains of our
“ enemies, but now wages a most cruel war
“ against us by land and sea; the event of which
“ is wholly uncertain. When we are desired
“ therefore to extend mercy to his children, not
“ a word is said, why, if their Father should
“ conquer, (which the Gods forbid) we are
“ not to expect the last punishment from him.
“ I am not ignorant how hard it is, that
“ Children should suffer for the crimes of their
“ Parents: but it was wisely contrived by the
“ laws, that the love of their Children should
“ make Parents more affectionate to their Coun-
“ try. Wherefore it is Lepidus who is cruel
“ to his children, not he, who adjudges Lepi-
“ dus an enemy: for if, laying down his arms,
“ he were to be condemned only of violence,
“ in which no defence could be made for him,
“ his children would suffer the same calamity
“ by the confiscation of his estate. Yet what
“ your mother and sister are now soliciting
“ against, in favor of the children, the very
“ same and much worse, Lepidus, Antony,
“ and our other enemies are at this very mo-
“ ment threatening to us all. Wherefore our
“ greatest hope is in you and your army: it is
“ of the utmost consequence both to the Re-
“ public in general, and to your honor and
“ glory in particular, that, as I wrote to you
“ before, you come as soon as possible into

“ Italy : for the Republic is in great want not
“ only of your forces, but of your counsels. I
“ served Vetus with pleasure, as you desired
“ me, for his singular benevolence and duty to
“ you: I found him extremely zealous and af-
“ fectionate both to you and the Republic: I
“ shall see my Son, I hope very soon; for I
“ depend on his coming with you quickly to
“ Italy “. ”

Brutus, before he had received this Letter, having heard from other friends, what they were designing at Rome against Lepidus, wrote about the same time, and on the same subject to Cicero.

Brutus to Cicero.

“ Other people’s fears oblige me to entertain
“ some apprehensions myself on Lepidus’s account:
“ if he should withdraw himself from us, (which
“ will prove, I hope, a rash, and injurious sus-
“ picion of him) I beg and beseech you, Cicero,
“ conjuring you by our friendship and your affec-
“ tion to me, to forget that my sister’s children
“ are Lepidus’s sons, and to consider me in the
“ place of their Father. If I obtain this of you,
“ you will not scruple, I am sure, to do whatever
“ you can for them. Other people live differently
“ with their friends : but I can never do enough
“ for my sister’s children, to satisfy either my
“ inclination or my duty. But what is there, in
“ which honest men can oblige me, (if in reality
“ I have deserved to be obliged in any thing) or

“ in which I can be of service to my mother,
“ sister, and the boys ; if their uncle Brutus has
“ not as much weight with you and the Senate,
“ to protect, as their Father Lepidus, to hurt
“ them ? I feel so much uneasiness and indignation,
“ that I neither can, nor ought to write more fully
“ to you : for if, in any case so important and
“ so necessary, there could be any occasion for
“ words, to excite and confirm you, there is no
“ hope that you will do what I wish, and what
“ is proper. Do not expect therefore any long
“ prayers from me : consider only what I am :
“ and that I ought to obtain it ; either from
“ Cicero, a man the most intimately united with
“ me ; or without regard to our private friendship,
“ from a consular Senator of such eminence : pray
“ send me word, as soon as you can, what you
“ resolve to do. July the first⁴⁴. ”

Cicero perceiving from this Letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a stress Brutus laid on procuring this favor for his Nephews, prevailed with the Senate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more settled⁴⁵.

Lepidus and Antony were no sooner joined, than a correspondence was set on foot between them and Octavius ; who from the death of the Consuls, showed but little regard to the authority of Cicero, or the Senate ; and wanted only a pretence for breaking with them. He waited, however, a while, to see what became of Antony ; till finding himself received and supported by Lepidus,

he began to think it his best scheme, to enter into the league with them; and to concur in what seemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the design of revenging the death of his Uncle. Instead therefore of prosecuting the war any farther, he was persuaded by his friends to make a demand of the Consulship, though he was not yet above twenty years old. This step shocked and terrified the City; not that the Consulship could give him any power, which his army had not already given; but as it indicated a dangerous and unseasonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws and the Senate; and above all raised a just apprehension of some attempt against the public liberty: since, instead of leading his army, where it was wanted and desired, against their enemies abroad, he chose to march with it towards Rome, as if he intended to subdue the Republic itself.

There was a report spread in the mean while through the Empire, that Cicero was chosen Consul: Brutus mentioning it in a Letter to him, says, If I should ever see that day, I shall then begin to figure to myself the true form of a Republic, subsisting by its own strength⁴⁶. It is certain, that he might have been declared Consul, by the unanimous suffrages of the people, if he had desired it; but in times of such violence, the title of supreme Magistrate without a real power to support it, would have exposed him only to more immediate danger and insults from the soldiers; whose fastidious insolence in their demands, was grown, as he complains, insupportable⁴⁷. Some

old writers say, what the moderns take implicitly from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by Octavius, to favor his pretensions to the Consulship, by the hopes of being made his Colleague, and governing him in the office⁴⁸. But the contrary is evident from several of his Letters; and that of all men, he was the most averse to Octavius's design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Writing upon it to Brutus, "as to Cæsar," says he, "who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an excellent disposition, and wonderful firmness, some people by most wicked Letters, messages, and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed him to an assured hope of the Consulship: as soon as I perceived it, I never ceased admonishing him in absence, nor reproaching his friends, who are present, and who seem to encourage his ambition: nor did I scruple to lay open the source of those traiterous counsels in the Senate: nor do I ever remember the Senate and the Magistrates to have behaved better on any occasion: for it never happened before in voting an extraordinary honor to a powerful, or rather most powerful man, (since power is now measured by force and arms) that no Tribune, or any other magistrate, nor so much as a private Senator would move for it: yet in the midst of all this firmness and virtue, the City is greatly alarmed: for we are abused, Brutus, both by the licentiousness of the soldiers, and the insolence of the general. Every one demands, to

“ have as much power in the state, as he has
 “ means to extort it : no reason, no moderation,
 “ no law, no custom, no duty is at all regarded ;
 “ no judgment or opinion of the Citizens ; no
 “ shame of posterity, &c. ”.

What Cicero says in this Letter, is very remark-
 able, that in all this height of young Cæsar's
 power, there was not a Magistrate, nor so much
 as a single Senator, who would move for the
 decree of his Consulship : the demand of it there-
 fore was made by a deputation of his officers ; and
 when the Senate received it more coldly than they
 expected, Cornelius, a Centurion, throwing back
 his robe and showing them his sword, boldly
 declared, that if they would not make him Con-
 sul, that should. But Octavius himself soon put
 an end to their scruples, by marching with his
 legions in an hostile manner to the City^o ; where
 he was chosen Consul with Q. Pedius his Kins-
 man, and coheir in part of his Uncle's estate, in
 the month of Sextilis, which, on the account of
 this fortunate beginning of his honors, was called
 afterwards from his own surname, Augustus^r.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS.
 Q. PEDIUS.

The first act of his Magistracy was, to secure
 all the public money, which he found in Rome,
 and make a dividend of it to his soldiers. He
 complained loudly of the Senate, “ that instead
 “ of paying his army the rewards, which they
 “ had decreed to them, they were contriving to
 “ harass them with perpetual toils, and to engage
 “ them in fresh wars against Lepidus and Antony :
 “ and likewise, that in the commission granted to

“ ten Senators , to provide lands for the Legions “ after the war, they had not named him². ” But there was no just grounds for any such complaint ; for those rewards were not decreed , nor intended to be distributed, till the war was quite ended ; and the leaving Cæsar out of the commission , was not from any particular slight but a general exception of all , who had the command of armies, as improper to be employed in such a charge ; though Cicero indeed was of a different opinion, and pressed for their being taken in. D. Brutus and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæsar ; and both of them seem likewise to have been disgusted at it ; so that Cicero , who was one of the number, in order to retrieve the imprudence of a step , which gave such offence , would not suffer his Colleagues to do any thing of moment, but reserved the whole affair to the arrival of Cæsar and the rest³.

But Cæsar, being now wholly bent on changing sides and measures , was glad to catch at every occasion of quarrelling with the Senate : he charged them , with calling him a boy , and treating him as such⁴ ; and found a pretext also against Cicero himself, whom after all the services received from him , his present views obliged him to abandon : for some busy informers had told him, that Cicero had spoken of him in certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of advancing , or taking him off — which Octavius was desirous to have reported every where, and believed in the worst sense. D. Brutus gave Cicero the first notice of it in the following Letter.

D. Brutus , Emperor , Consul Elect to M.
T. Cicero.

“ What I do not feel on my own account , my
“ love and obligations to you make me feel on
“ yours ; that is , fear. For after I had been
“ often told , what I did not wholly slight , Labeo
“ Segulius , a man always like himself , just now
“ informs me , that he has been with Cæsar , where
“ there was much discourse on you : that Cæsar
“ himself had no other complaint against you ,
“ but for a certain saying , which he declared to
“ have been spoken by you ; that the young man
“ was to be praised , adorned , taken off ” ; but
“ he would not be so silly , he said , as to put it
“ into any man’s power to take him off. This , I
“ dare say , was first carried to him , or forged by
“ Segulius himself , and did not come from the
“ young man. Segulius had a mind likewise to
“ persuade me , that the Veterans talk most angrily
“ against you ; that you are in danger from them ;
“ that the chief cause of their anger is , because
“ neither Cæsar nor I am in the commission of the
“ ten , but all things transacted by your will and
“ pleasure : upon hearing this , though I was
“ then upon my march , I did not think it proper
“ to pass the Alps , till I could first learn , how
“ matters were going amongst you , &c. ” .

To this Cicero answered :

“ The Gods confound that Segulius , the greatest
“ knave , that is , or was , or ever will be. What ,

“ do you imagine , that he told his story only to
“ you , and to Cæsar ? he told the same to every
“ soul , that he could speak with : I love you ,
“ however , my Brutus , as I ought ; for acquaint-
“ ing me with it , how trifling soever it be : it is
“ a sure sign of your affection. For as to what
“ Segulius says , of the complaint of the Veterans ,
“ because you and Cæsar were not in the com-
“ mission : I wish , that I was not in it myself ;
“ for what can be more troublesome ? but when
“ I proposed , that those , who had the command
“ of armies , should be included in it ; the same
“ men , who used to oppose every thing , remon-
“ strated against it ; so that you were excepted ,
“ wholly against my vote and opinion , &c. ” .”

As for the story of the words , he treats it , we see , as too contemptible to deserve an apology , or the pains of disclaiming it ; and it seems indeed incredible , that a man of his prudence could ever say them. If he had harboured such a thought , or had been tempted on any occasion to throw out such a hint , we might have expected to find it in his Letters to Brutus : yet on the contrary he speaks always of Octavius , in terms highly advantageous , even where he was likely to give disgust by it. But nothing was more common than to have sayings forged for him , which he had never spoken ; and this was one of that sort ; contrived to instil a jealousy into Octavius , or to give him a handle at least for breaking with Cicero , which , in his present circumstances , he was glad to lay hold of : and when the story was once become

public, and supposed to have gained credit with Octavius, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, Velleius and Suetonius; though not without an intimation from the latter of its suspected credit⁵⁸.

While the City was in the utmost consternation on Cæsar's approach with his army, two Veteran Legions from Africa happened to arrive in the Tiber, and were received as a succour sent to them from heaven; but this joy lasted not long; for presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other soldiers, they deserted the Senate, who sent for them, and joined themselves to Cæsar. Pollio likewise, about the same time, with two of his best Legions from Spain, came to the assistance of Antony and Lepidus; so that all the Veterans of the western part of the Empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old General. The consent of all these armies, and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, and induced him also at last, to desert his Colleague D. Brutus, with whom he had hitherto acted with much seeming concord: Pollio made his peace, and good terms for him with Antony and Lepidus; and soon after brought him over to their Camp with all his troops.

D. Brutus being thus abandoned and left to shift for himself, with a needy, mutinous army; eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies, had no other way to save himself, than by flying to his name-sake in Macedonia: but the

distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was surprised by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General".

Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice in the manner of suffering his death; unworthy of the man who had killed Cæsar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are so various, and so inconsistent with the character of his former life, that we may reasonably suspect them to be forged by those, who were disposed to throw all kinds of contumely on the murderers of Cæsar^o.

But what gave the greatest shock to the whole Republican party, was a law contrived by Cæsar, and published by his Colleague Pedius, to bring to trial and justice all those, who had been concerned, either in advising, or effecting Cæsar's death: in consequence of which, all the conspirators were presently impeached in form by different accusers; and as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemned of course; and by a second law interdicted from fire and water: Pompey also, though he had born no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcilable enemy to the Cæsarian cause: after

which, Cæsar, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, distributed to the Citizens the Legacies which his Uncle had left them by will^o.

Cicero foresaw, that things might possibly take this turn, and Plancus himself prove treacherous; and for that reason was constantly pressing Brutus and Cassius to hasten to Italy, as the most effectual means to prevent it: every step that Cæsar took, confirmed his apprehensions, and made him more importunate with them to come, especially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his Letters to Brutus, "Fly to us," says he, "I beseech you, and exhort Cassius to the same; for there is no hope of liberty but from your troops". "If you have any regard for the Republic, for which you were born, you must do it instantly; for the war is renewed by the inconstancy of Lepidus; and Cæsar's army, which was the best, is not only of no service to us, but even obliges us to call for your's: as soon as ever you touch Italy, there is not a man, whom we can call a Citizen, who will not immediately be in your Camp. We have D. Brutus indeed happily united with Plancus: but you are not ignorant, how changeable men's minds are, and how infected with party, and how uncertain the events of war: nay, should we conquer, as I hope we shall, there will be a want of your advice and authority to settle all affairs. Help us therefore for God's sake; and as soon as possible; and assure yourself, that you did not

“ do a greater service to your Country on the Ides
“ of March, when you freed it from slavery, than
“ you will do by coming quickly “.”

After many remonstrances of the same kind, he wrote also the following Letter.

Cicero to Brutus.

“ After I had often exhorted you by Letters
“ to come as soon as possible to the relief of the
“ Republic, and bring your army into Italy, and
“ never imagined, that your own people had any
“ scruples about it ; I was desired by that most
“ prudent and diligent woman , your Mother, all
“ whose thoughts and cares are employed on you,
“ that I would come to her on the twenty-fourth
“ of July ; which I did , as I ought , without
“ delay. When I came, I found Casca , Labeo ,
“ and Scaptius with her. She presently entered
“ into the affair, and asked my opinion, whether
“ we should send for you to Italy ; and whether
“ I thought it best for you to come, or to continue
“ abroad. I declared, what I took to be the most
“ for your honor and reputation, that without
“ loss of time you should bring present help to
“ the tottering and declining state. For what
“ mischief may not one expect from that war,
“ where the conquering armies refused to pursue
“ a flying enemy ; where a General unhurt, unpro-
“ voked, possessed of the highest honors, and the
“ greatest fortunes, with a wife , children , and
“ near relation to you, has declared war against

“ the Commonwealth? I may add, where in so
“ great a concord of the Senate and People, there
“ resides still so much disorder within the walls;
“ but the greatest grief which I feel, while I am
“ now writing, is to reflect, that when the
“ Republic had taken my word for a youth, or
“ rather a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power,
“ to make good what I promised for him. For it
“ is a thing of much greater delicacy and moment,
“ to engage oneself for another’s sentiments and
“ principles, especially in affairs of importance,
“ than for money: for money may be paid, and
“ the loss itself be tolerable; but how can you
“ pay what you are engaged for to the Republic,
“ unless he, for whom you stand engaged, will
“ suffer it to be paid? yet I am still in hopes, to
“ hold him; though many are plucking him away
“ from me: for his disposition seems good, though
“ his age be flexible: and many always at hand
“ to corrupt him; who, by throwing in his way the
“ splendor of false honor, think themselves sure
“ of dazzling his good sense and understanding.
“ Wherefore to all my other labors this new one
“ is added, of setting all engines at work to hold
“ fast the young man, lest I incur the imputation
“ of rashness. Though what rashness is it after all?
“ for in reality, I bound him for whom I was
“ engaged, more strongly than myself: nor has
“ the Republic as yet any cause to repent, that I
“ was his sponsor: since he has hitherto been the
“ more firm and constant in acting for us, as well
“ from his own temper, as for my promise. The

“ greatest difficulty in the Republic, if I mistake
“ not, is the want of money: for honest men
“ grow every day more and more averse to the
“ name of Tribute; and what was gathered from
“ the hundredth penny, where the rich are
“ shamefully rated, is all spent in rewarding the
“ two Legions. There is an infinite expense upon
“ us, to support the armies, which now defend
“ us; and also yours; for our Cassius seems likely
“ to come sufficiently provided. But I long to
“ talk over this, and many other things with you
“ in person: and that quickly. As to your sister’s
“ children, I did not wait, Brutus, for your
“ writing to me: the times themselves, since the
“ war will be drawn into length, reserve the whole
“ affair to you: but from the first, when I could
“ not foresee the continuance of the war, I pleaded
“ the cause of the children in the Senate, in a
“ manner, which you have been informed of, I
“ guess, by your mother’s Letters: nor can there
“ ever be any case, where I will not both say
“ and do, even at the hazard of my life, whatever
“ I think agreeable either to your inclination, or to
“ your interest. The twenty-sixth of July.”

In a Letter likewise to Cassius, he says, “ we
“ wish to see you in Italy, as soon as possible;
“ and shall imagine, that we have recovered the
“ Republic, when we have you with us. We
“ had conquered nobly, if Lepidus had not
“ received the routed, disarmed, fugitive, Antony:
“ wherefore, Antony himself was never so odious
“ to the City, as Lepidus is now: for he began

“ a war upon us from a turbulent state of things;
“ this man from peace and victory. We have the
“ Consuls elect to oppose him: in whom indeed
“ we have great hopes; yet not without an
“ anxious care for the uncertain events of battles.
“ Assure yourself therefore, that all our depend-
“ ence is on you, and your Brutus; that you
“ are both expected, but Brutus immediately,
“ &c. ”

But after all these repeated remonstrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seem to have entertained the least thought of coming with their armies to Italy. Cassius indeed, by being more remote, could not come so readily, and was not so much expected as Brutus? who, before the battle of Modena, had drawn down all his legions to the sea-coast, and kept them at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for Italy, if any accident had made his assistance necessary; for which Cicero highly commends him“. But upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to oppose the attempts of Dolabella; and from that time seemed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their Relief. It is difficult at this distance to penetrate the motives of his conduct: he had a better opinion of Lepidus, than the rest of his party had; and being naturally positive, might affect to slight the apprehensions of Lepidus's treachery,

which was the chief ground of their calling so earnestly for him. But he had other reasons also, which were thought to be good; since some of his friends at Rome, as we may collect from Cicero's Letter, were of a different mind from Cicero, on the subject of his coming. They might suspect the fidelity of his troops; and that they were not sufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the Veterans, in Italy; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might possibly induce them to desert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. Brutus, who was the best judge of the state of things at home, was entirely of Cicero's opinion: he saw himself surrounded with Veteran armies, disaffected to the cause of liberty; knew the perfidy of Lepidus: the ambition of young Cæsar; and the irresolution of his Colleague Plancus; and admonished Cicero therefore in all his Letters, to urge his namesake to hasten his march to them⁶⁷. So that on the whole, it seems reasonable to believe, that if Brutus and Cassius had marched with their armies towards Italy, at the time when Cicero first pressed it, before the defection of Plancus, and the death of Decimus, it must have prevented the immediate ruin of the Republic.

The want of money, of which Cicero complains at this time, as the greatest evil that they had to struggle with, is expressed also very strongly in another Letter to Cornificius, the

Proconsul of Africa; who was urging him to provide a fund for the support of his Legions:

“As to the expense”, says he, “which you have made, and are making in your military preparations, it is not in my power to help you; because the Senate is now without a head, by the death of the Consuls, and there is an incredible scarcity of money in the treasury; which we are gathering, however, from all quarters, to make good our promises to the troops, that have deserved it of us; which cannot be done, in my opinion, without a tribute⁸.” This tribute was a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man’s substance, but had been wholly disused in Rome, from the conquest of Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the city ever after of that burden, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it⁹. But from what Cicero intimates of the general aversion to the revival of it, one cannot help observing the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honest part of Rome: who, in this utmost exigency of the Republic, were shocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and would not part with the least share of their money, for the defence even of their liberty: the consequence of which was, what it must always be in the like case, that by starving the cause, they found not only their fortunes, but their lives also soon after at the mercy of their enemies. Cicero

has a reflection in one of his speeches, that seems applicable also to the present case, and to be verified by the example of these times. "The Republic", says he, "is attacked always with greater vigor, than it is defended: for the audacious and profligate, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are easily impelled to act upon the least nod of their leaders: whereas the honest, I know not why, are generally slow and unwilling to stir; and neglecting always the beginnings of things, are never roused to exert themselves, but by the last necessity: so that through irresolution and delay, when they would be glad to compound at last for their quiet, at the expense even of their honor, they commonly lose them both".

This observation will serve to vindicate the conduct of Cassius, from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is said to have practised, in exacting money and other necessaries from the Cities of Asia. He was engaged in an inexpiable war, where he must either conquer, or perish with the Republic itself, and where his Legions were not only to be supported but rewarded: the revenues of the Empire were exhausted; contributions came in sparingly; and the states abroad were all desirous to stand neuter; as doubtful of the issue, and unwilling to offend either side. Under these difficulties where money was necessary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawful; the necessity of the end justified the means; and when the safety of the

Empire, and the liberty of Rome were at stake, it was no time to listen to scruples. This was Cassius's way of reasoning, and the ground of his acting; who applied all his thoughts to support the cause, that he had undertaken; and kept his eyes, as Appian says, wholly fixed upon the war, as a Gladiator upon his Antagonist⁷¹.

Brutus, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and scrupulous, contented himself generally with the regular methods of raising money; and from his love of Philosophy, and the politer studies, having contracted an affection for the Cities of Greece, instead of levying contributions, used to divert himself, wherever he passed, with seeing their games and exercises, and presiding at their philosophical disputations; as if travelling rather for curiosity, than to provide materials for a bloody war⁷². When he and Cassius therefore met, the difference of their circumstances showed the different effects of their conduct. Cassius, without receiving a penny from Rome, came rich and amply furnished with all the stores of war; Brutus, who had received large remittances from Italy, came empty and poor, and unable to support himself without the help of Cassius; who was forced to give him a third part of that treasure, which he had been gathering with so much envy to himself for the common service⁷³.

While Cicero was taking all this pains, and struggling thus gloriously in the support of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peevish

and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in Italy, and judging of counsels by events, was disposed at last to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, that, by a profusion of honors on young Cæsar, he had inspired him with an ambition, incompatible with the safety of the Republic, and armed him with that power, which he was now employing to oppress it: whereas the truth is, that by those honors Cicero did not intend to give Cæsar any new power, but to apply that, which he had acquired by his own vigor, to the public service and the ruin of Antony: in which he succeeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents, which could not be foreseen. For it is evident from the facts above-mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæsar, and instead of increasing, was contriving some check to his authority, till by the death of the Consuls, he slipped out of his hands, and became too strong to be managed by him any longer. Brutus, by being at such a distance, was not well apprized, of the particular grounds of granting those honors; but Decimus, who was all the while in Italy, saw the use and necessity of them, and seems to hint in some of his Letters, that they ought to have decreed still greater⁷⁴.

But whatever Brutus, or any one else may have said, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæsar's death to his own, we shall find it in all respects uniform, great and

glorious ; never deviating from the grand point, which he had in view , the liberty of his country : whereas , if we attend to Brutus's , we cannot help observing in it , something strangely various and inconsistent with itself. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigor of a Stoic, and the severity of an old Roman ; yet by a natural tenderness and compassion, was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakness. To restore the liberty of his country, he killed his Friend and Benefactor ; and declares , that for the same cause he would have killed even his Father⁷⁵ : yet he would not take Antony's life , though it was a necessary sacrifice to the same cause. When Dolabella had basely murdered Trebonius, and Antony openly approved the act, he could not be persuaded to make reprisals on C. Antony : but through a vain ostentation of clemency, suffered him to live, though with danger to himself. When his brother-in-law Lepidus was declared an enemy, he expressed an absurd and peevish resentment of it, for the sake of his nephews, as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the Republic was ever restored : or if not, in their Father's. How contrary is this to the spirit of that old Brutus , from whom he derived his descent , and whom in his general conduct he pretended to imitate ? He blames Cicero for dispensing honors too largely , yet claims an infinite share of them to himself ; and when he had seized by his private authority , what the Senate , at

Cicero's motion, confirmed to him, the most extraordinary command, which had been granted to any man: he declares himself an enemy to all extraordinary commissions, in what hands soever they were lodged⁷⁶: this inconsistency in his character would tempt us to believe, that he was governed in many cases by the pride and haughtiness of his temper, rather than by any constant and settled Principles of Philosophy, of which he is commonly thought so strict an observer.

Cicero, however, notwithstanding the peevishness of Brutus, omitted no opportunity of serving and supporting him to the very last: as soon as he perceived Cæsar's intention of revenging his Uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him by Letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the observance of that amnesty, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly the last service, which he could do, either to Brutus, or the Republic; and Atticus imagining that Brutus would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what Cicero had written on that subject: but instead of pleasing, it provoked Brutus only the more: he treated it as base and dishonorable, to ask any thing of a boy, or to imagine the safety of Brutus to depend on any one but himself: and signified his mind upon it, both to Cicero and Atticus in such a style, as confirms what Cicero had long before observed,

and more than once declared of him, that his Letters were generally churlish, unmannerly and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing". But their own Letters to each other will be the best vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the surest judgment of the different spirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus therefore had frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occasion, in the following Letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of Cæsar's death, in order to show the reasonableness and necessity of each step.

Cicero to Brutus.

" You have Messala now with you. It is not
" possible therefore for me to explain by Letter,
" though ever so accurately drawn, the present
" state of our affairs so exactly as he, who not
" only knows them all more perfectly, but can
" describe them more elegantly than any man:
" for I would not have you imagine, Brutus,
" (though there is no occasion to tell you, what
" you know already yourself, but that I cannot
" pass over in silence such an excellence of all
" good qualities :) I would not have you imagine,
" I say, that for probity, constancy and zeal for
" the Republic, there is any one equal to him;
" so that eloquence, in which he wonderfully ex-
" cels, scarce finds a place among his other

“ praises : since even in that, his wisdom shines the
“ most eminent, by his having formed himself
“ with so much judgment and skill to the truest
“ manner of speaking. Yet his industry all the
“ while is so remarkable, and he spends so much
“ of his time in study, that he seems to owe but
“ little to his parts, which still are the greatest.
“ But I am carried too far by my love for him :
“ for it is not the purpose of this Epistle to praise
“ Messala, especially to Brutus, to whom his
“ virtue is not less known, than to myself ; and
“ these very studies, which I am praising, still
“ more ; whom when I could not part with with-
“ out regret, I comforted myself with reflecting,
“ that by his going away to you, as it were,
“ to my second self, he both discharged his duty,
“ and pursued the surest path to glory. But so
“ much for that ⁷⁸. I come now after a long
“ interval, to consider a certain Letter of yours,
“ in which, while you allow me to have done
“ well in many things, you find fault with me
“ for one ; that in conferring honors, I was too
“ free, and even prodigal. You charge me with
“ this ; others probably, with being too severe
“ in punishing, or you yourself perhaps with both :
“ if so, I desire that my judgment and sentiments
“ on each may be clearly explained to you : not
“ that I mean to justify myself by the authority of
“ Solon, the wisest of the seven, and the only
“ Legislator of them all ; who used to say, that,
“ the public weal was comprised in two things,
“ rewards and punishments ; in which, however,

“ as in every thing else, a certain medium and
“ temperament is to be observed. But it is not
“ my design at this time to discuss so great a
“ subject : I think it proper only, to open the
“ reasons of my votes and opinions in the Senate,
“ from the beginning of this war. After the death
“ of Cæsar, and those your memorable Ides of
“ March, you cannot forget, Brutus, what I
“ declared to have been omitted by you, and
“ what a tempest I foresaw hanging over the Re-
“ public : you had freed us from a great plague;
“ wiped off a great stain from the Roman people;
“ acquired to yourselves divine glory; yet all the
“ equipage and furniture of Kingly power was
“ left still to Lepidus and Antony; the one in-
“ constant, the other vicious; both of them afraid
“ of peace, and enemies to the public quiet.
“ While these men were eager to raise fresh dis-
“ turbances in the Republic, we had no guard
“ about us to oppose them; though the whole
“ City was eager and unanimous in asserting its
“ liberty : I was then thought too violent; while
“ you perhaps more wisely withdrew yourselves
“ from that city, which you had delivered, and
“ refused the help of all Italy, which offered to
“ arm itself in your cause. Wherefore when I saw
“ the city in the hands of traitors, oppressed by
“ the arms of Antony, and that neither you nor
“ Cassius could be safe in it; I thought it time for
“ me to quit it too : for a City overpowered by
“ traitors, without the means of relieving itself,
“ is a wretched spectacle : Yet my mind, always

“ the same, and ever fixed on the love of my
“ Country, could not bear the thought of leaving
“ it in it's distress : in the midst therefore of my
“ voyage to Greece, and in the very season of
“ the Etesian winds, when an uncommon South-
“ wind, as if displeased with my resolution, had
“ driven me back to Italy, I found you at Velia,
“ and was greatly concerned at it : for you were
“ retreating, Brutus ; were retreating, I say ;
“ since your Stoics will not allow their wise man
“ to fly. As soon as I came to Rome, I ex-
“ posed myself to the wickedness and rage of
“ Antony ; and when I had exasperated him
“ against me, began to enter into measures, in
“ the very manner of the Brutus, (for such are
“ peculiar to your blood) for delivering the Re-
“ public. I shall omit the long recital of what
“ followed, since it all relates to myself ; and ob-
“ serve only, that young Cæsar, by whom, if
“ we will confess the truth, we subsist at this day,
“ flowed from the source of my counsels. I decreed
“ him no honors, Brutus, but what were due ;
“ none but what were necessary : for as soon as
“ we began to recover any liberty, and before
“ the virtue of D. Brutus had yet shown itself so
“ far, that we could know its divine force ; and
“ while our whole defence was in the boy, who
“ repelled Antony from our necks ; what honor
“ was not really due to him ? though I gave him
“ nothing yet, but the praise of words ; and that
“ but moderate. I decreed him indeed a legal
“ command : which though it seemed honorable

“ to one of that age , was yet necessary to one
“ who had an army : for what is an army with-
“ out the command of it ? Philip voted him a
“ statue ; Servius the privilege of suing for offices
“ before the legal time ; which was shortened still
“ by Servilius : nothing was then thought too
“ much : but we are apt, I know not how, to
“ be more liberal in fear, than grateful in success.
“ When D. Brutus was delivered from the siege,
“ a day of all others the most joyous to the city,
“ which happened also to be his birth-day, I
“ decreed, that his name should be ascribed for
“ ever to that day in the public Kalendars. In
“ which I followed the example of our ancestors,
“ who paid the same honor to a woman, Larentia;
“ at whose altar you Priests perform sacred rites
“ in the Velabrum : by giving this to D. Brutus,
“ my design was, to fix in the Kalendars a per-
“ petual memorial of a most acceptable victory:
“ but I perceived on that day, that there was
“ more malevolence than gratitude, in many of the
“ Senate. During these same days, I poured out
“ honors (since you will have it so) on the deceas-
“ ed Hirtius, Pansa and Aquila : and who can
“ find fault with it, but those who, when fear is
“ once over, forget their past danger ? But besides
“ the grateful remembrance of services, there was
“ an use in it, which reached to posterity : for I
“ was desirous, that there should remain an eternal
“ monument of the public hatred to our most
“ cruel enemies. There is one thing I doubt,
“ which does not please you ; for it does not

“ please your friends here ; who , though ex-
“ cellent men , have but little experience in
“ public affairs ; that I decreed an ovation to
“ Cæsar : but for my part , (though I may per-
“ haps be mistaken , for I am not one of
“ those , who approve nothing , but what is my
“ own ;) I cannot but think , that I have advised
“ nothing more prudent during this war. Why it
“ is so , is not proper to be explained , lest I be
“ thought to have been more provident in it than
“ grateful : but even this is too much : let us pass
“ therefore to other things. I decreed honors to
“ D. Brutus ; decreed them to Plancus : they must
“ be men of great souls who are attracted by glory :
“ but the Senate also is certainly wise , in trying
“ every art that is honest , by which it can engage
“ any one to the service of the Republic. But I
“ am blamed in the case of Lepidus : to whom
“ after I had raised a statue in the Rostra , I presently
“ threw it down. My view in that honor was ,
“ to reclaim him from desperate measures ; but the
“ madness of an inconstant man got the better of
“ my prudence ; nor was there yet so much harm
“ in erecting , as good in demolishing the Statue.
“ But I have said enough concerning honors ; and
“ must say a word or two about punishments : for
“ I have often observed from your Letters , that you
“ are fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency ,
“ by your treatment of those whom you have
“ conquered in war. I can imagine nothing to be
“ done by you , but what is wisely done : but to
“ omit the punishing of wickedness (which we call

“ pardoning) though it be tolerable in other cases,
“ I hold to be pernicious in this war. Of all the
“ civil wars that have been in my memory, there
“ was not one, in which, what side soever got the
“ better, there would not have remained some
“ form of a Commonwealth: yet in this, what
“ sort of a Republic we are like to have if we
“ conquer, I would not easily affirm; but if we
“ are conquered, we are sure to have none. My
“ votes therefore were severe against Antony;
“ severe against Lepidus: not from any spirit of
“ revenge, but to deter wicked Citizens at present
“ from making war against their Country; and to
“ leave an example to posterity, that none hereafter
“ should imitate such rashness. Yet this very vote
“ was not more mine, than it was every body’s:
“ in which there seems, I own, to be something
“ cruel, that the punishment should reach to
“ children, who have done nothing to deserve
“ it: but the constitution is both ancient, and of
“ all Cities; for even Themistocles’s children
“ were reduced to want: and since the same
“ punishment falls upon Citizens, condemned of
“ public crimes, how was it possible for us to be
“ more gentle towards enemies? But how can that
“ man complain of me, who, if he had conquered,
“ must needs confess that he would have treated
“ me even with more severity? You have now
“ the motives of my opinions in the case of
“ rewards and punishments: for as to other
“ points, you have heard, I imagine, what my
“ sentiments and votes have been. But to talk

“ of these things now is not necessary ; what I am
“ going to say , is extremely so , Brutus ; that you
“ come to Italy with your army as soon as possible.
“ We are in the utmost expectation of you :
“ whenever you set foot in Italy , all the world
“ will fly to you : for whether it be our lot to
“ conquer , (as we had already done , if Lepidus
“ had not been desirous to overturn all , and perish
“ himself with his friends) there will be a great
“ want of your authority , for the settling some
“ state of a City amongst us ; or if there be any
“ danger and struggle still behind , hasten to us
“ for God’s sake : for you know , how much
“ depends on opportunity , how much on dispatch.
“ What diligence I shall use in the care of your
“ sister’s children , you will soon know , I hope ,
“ from your mother’s and sister’s Letters : in
“ whose cause I have more regard to your will ,
“ which is ever most dear to me , than , as some
“ think , to my own constancy ; but it is my
“ desire both to be , and to appear constant , in
“ nothing so much as in loving you ” . ”

Brutus to Cicero.

“ I have read a part of your Letter , which
“ you sent to Octavius , transmitted to me by
“ Atticus. Your zeal and concern for my safety
“ gives me no new pleasure : for it is not only
“ common , but our daily news , to hear something,
“ which you have said or done with your usual
“ fidelity , in the support of my honor and dignity.

Yet

“ Yet that same part of your Letter affected me
“ with the most sensible grief, which my mind
“ could possibly receive. For you compliment
“ him so highly for his services to the Republic ;
“ and in a strain so suppliant and abject ; that, —
“ what shall I say ? — I am ashamed of the
“ wretched state, to which we are reduced, —
“ yet it must be said — you recommend my safety
“ to him ; to which what death is not preferable ?
“ and plainly show, that our servitude is not yet
“ abolished, but our master only changed. Recollect
“ your words, and deny them, if you dare, to be
“ the prayers of a slave to his King. There is one
“ thing, you say, which is required and expected
“ from him, that he would allow those Citizens
“ to live in safety, of whom all honest men, and
“ the people of Rome think well. But what, if
“ he will not allow it ? shall we be the less safe
“ for that ? It is better not to be safe, than to be
“ saved by him. For my part, I can never think
“ all the Gods so averse to the preservation of the
“ Roman people, that Octavius must be entreated
“ for the life of any one Citizen ; much less for the
“ deliverers of the world. It is a pleasure to me
“ to talk thus magnificently ; and it even becomes
“ me to those, who know not either, what to
“ fear for any one, or what to ask of any one. Can
“ you allow Octavius to have this power, and
“ yet be his friend ? or if you have any value for
“ me, would you wish to see me at Rome, when
“ I must first be recommended to the boy, that
“ he would permit me to be there ? What reason

“ can you have to thank him , if you think it
“ necessary to beg of him , that he would grant
“ and suffer us to live with safety ? or is it to
“ be reckoned a kindness , that he chuses to see
“ himself , rather than Antony , in the condition,
“ to have such petitions addressed to him ? one
“ may supplicate indeed the successor , but never
“ the abolisher of a tyranny , that those , who
“ have deserved well of the Republic , may be
“ safe. It was this weakness and despair , not
“ more blameable indeed in you , than in all , which
“ first pushed Cæsar to the ambition of reigning ;
“ and after his death , encouraged Antony
“ to think of seizing his place , and has now
“ raised this boy so high , that you judge it
“ necessary to address your prayers to him for
“ the preservation of men of our rank ; and
“ that we can be saved only by the mercy of
“ one , scarce yet a man ; and by no other means.
“ But if we had remembered ourselves to be
“ Romans , these infamous men would not be
“ more daring to aim at dominion , than we are to
“ repel it : nor would Antony be more encour-
“ aged by Cæsar’s reign , than deterred by his
“ fate. How can you , a Consular Senator ,
“ and the avenger of so many treasons , (by sup-
“ pressing which , you have but postponed our
“ ruin I fear , for a time ,) reflect on what you
“ have done , and yet approve these things , or
“ bear them so tamely , as to seem at least to
“ approve them ? for what particular grudge
“ had you to Antony ? no other but that he

“ assumed all this to himself ; that our lives
“ should be begged of him ; our safety be pre-
“ carious , from whom he had received his li-
“ berty ; and the Republic depend on his will
“ and pleasure. You thought it necessary to
“ take arms to prevent him from tyrannizing
“ at this rate : but was it your intent , that by
“ preventing him , we might sue to another ,
“ who would suffer himself to be advanced into
“ his place , or that the Republic might be free
“ and mistress of itself ? as if our quarrel was
“ not perhaps to slavery , but to the conditions
“ of it. But we might have had , not only
“ an easy master in Antony , if we would have
“ been content with that , but whatever share
“ with him we pleased , of favors and honors.
“ For what could he deny to those , whose pa-
“ tience , he saw , was the best support of his
“ government ; but nothing was of such value
“ to us , that we should sell our faith and our
“ liberty for it. This very boy , whom the
“ name of Cæsar seems to incite against the de-
“ stroyers of Cæsar , at what rate would he value
“ it (if there was any room to traffic with him)
“ to be enabled by our help , to maintain his
“ present power ; since we have a mind to live ,
“ and to be rich , and to be called Consulars ?
“ but then Cæsar must have perished in vain :
“ for what reason had we to rejoice at his death ,
“ if , after it , we were still to continue slaves ?
“ Let other people be as indolent as they please ;
“ but may the Gods and Goddeffes deprive me

“ sooner of every thing, than the resolution,
“ not to allow to the heir of him whom I
“ killed, what I did not allow to the man him-
“ self: nor would suffer, even in my Father,
“ were he living; to have more power than the
“ laws and the Senate. How can you imagine,
“ that any one can be free under him, without
“ whose leave there is no place for us in that
“ City? or how is it possible for you after all,
“ to obtain what you ask? You ask, that he
“ would allow us to be safe. Shall we then
“ receive safety, think you, when we receive
“ life? but how can we receive it, if we first
“ part with our honor and our liberty? Do
“ you fancy, that to live at Rome is to be safe?
“ It is the thing, and not the place, which
“ must secure them to me: for I was never safe,
“ while Cæsar lived, till I had resolved on that
“ attempt: nor can I in any place live in exile,
“ as long as I hate slavery and affronts above
“ all other evils. Is not this to fall back again
“ into the same state of darkness; when he,
“ who has taken upon him the name of the ty-
“ rant, (though in the Cities of Greece, when
“ the Tyrants are destroyed, their children also
“ perish with them,) must be entreated, that
“ the avengers of tyranny may be safe? Can I
“ ever wish to see that City, or think it a City,
“ which would not accept liberty when offered,
“ and even forced upon it, but has more dread
“ of the name of their late King, in the person of
“ a boy, than confidence in itself; though it has

“ seen that very King taken off in the height of
“ all his power by the virtue of a few? As for
“ me, do not recommend me any more to your
“ Cæsar, nor indeed yourself, if you will hearken
“ to me. You set a very high value on the few
“ years, which remain to you at that age, if for
“ the sake of them you can supplicate that boy.
“ But take care after all, lest what you have done
“ and are doing so laudably against Antony,
“ instead of being praised, as the effect of a great
“ mind, be charged to the account of your fear.
“ For if you are so pleased with Octavius, as to
“ petition him for our safety, you will be thought
“ not to have disliked a Master, but to have
“ wanted a more friendly one. As to your praising
“ him for the things, that he has hitherto done,
“ I entirely approve it: for they deserved to be
“ praised, provided that he undertook them, to
“ repel other men’s power, not to advance his
“ own. But when you adjudge him, not only to
“ have this power, but that you ought to submit
“ to it so far, as to entreat him that he would
“ not destroy us; you pay him too great a
“ recompence: for you ascribe that very thing to
“ him, which the Republic seemed to enjoy
“ through him: nor does it ever enter into your
“ thoughts, that if Octavius be worthy of any
“ honors, because he wages war with Antony;
“ that those, who extirpated the very evil, of
“ which these are but the relics, can never be
“ sufficiently requited by the Roman people;
“ though they were to heap upon them every

“ thing which they could bestow: but see how
“ much stronger people’s fears are, than their
“ memories, because Antony still lives, and is in
“ arms. As to Cæsar, all that could and ought to
“ be done, is past, and cannot be recalled: is
“ Octavius then a person of so great importance,
“ that the people of Rome are to expect from
“ him, what he will determine upon us? or are
“ we of so little, that any single man is to be
“ entreated for our safety? As for me, may I
“ never return to you, if ever I either supplicate
“ any man, or do not restrain those, who are
“ disposed to do it, from supplicating for them-
“ selves: or I will remove to a distance from all
“ such, who can be slaves, and fancy myself at
“ Rome, wherever I can live free; and shall pity
“ you, whose fond desire of life, neither age,
“ nor honors, nor the example of other men’s
“ virtue can moderate. For my part, I shall ever
“ think myself happy, as long as I can please
“ myself with the persuasion, that my piety has
“ been fully requited. For what can be happier,
“ than for a man, conscious of virtuous acts,
“ and content with liberty, to despise all human
“ affairs? yet I will never yield to those, who are
“ fond of yielding, or be conquered by those,
“ who are willing to be conquered themselves;
“ but will first try and attempt every thing; nor
“ ever desist from dragging our City out of slavery.
“ If such fortune attends, as I ought to have, we
“ shall all rejoice: If not, I shall rejoice myself.
“ For how could this life be spent better, than in

“ acts and thoughts, which tend to make my
“ Countrymen free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero,
“ not to desert the cause through weariness or
“ diffidence: in repelling present evils, have your
“ eye always on the future, lest they insinuate
“ themselves before you are aware. Consider that
“ the fortitude and courage, with which you
“ delivered the Republic, when Consul, and
“ now again when Consular, are nothing without
“ constancy and equability. The case of tried
“ virtue, I own, is harder than of untried: we
“ require services from it, as debts; and if any
“ thing disappoints us, we blame with resentment,
“ as if we had been deceived. Wherefore for
“ Cicero to withstand Antony, though it be a part
“ highly commendable, yet because such a Consul
“ seemed of course to promise us such a Consular,
“ no body wonders at it: but if the same Cicero,
“ in the case of others, should waver at last in
“ that resolution, which he exerted with such
“ firmness and greatness of mind against Antony,
“ he would deprive himself, not only of the hopes
“ of future glory, but forfeit even that which is
“ past: for nothing is great in itself, but what
“ flows from the result of our judgment: nor does
“ it become any man, more than you, to love
“ the Republic, and to be the Patron of liberty,
“ on the account either of your natural talents,
“ or your former acts, or the wishes and expecta-
“ tion of all men. Octavius therefore must not be
“ entreated, to suffer us to live in safety. Do you
“ rather rouse yourself so far, as to think that

“ City in which you have acted the noblest part,
“ free and flourishing, as long as there are Leaders
“ still to the people, to resist the designs of
“ Traitors ”. ”

If we compare these two Letters, we shall perceive in Cicero's an extensive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust where he thought it necessary even to blame. In Brutus's a churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honors to himself, yet allowing none to any body else; insolently chiding and dictating to one, as much superior to him in wisdom as he was in years; the whole turning upon that romantic maxim of the Stoics, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances: that a wise man has a sufficiency of all things within himself. There are indeed many noble sentiments in it worthy of old Rome, which Cicero in a proper season would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in Brutus, because he himself did not always practice what he professed; but was too apt to forget both the Stoic and the Roman.

Octavius had no sooner settled the affairs of the City, and subdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards Gaul, to meet Antony and Lepidus; who had already passed the Alps, and brought their armies into Italy, in order to have a personal interview with him; which had

been privately concerted, for settling the terms of a triple league, and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themselves. All the three were natural enemies to each other; Competitors for Empire; and aiming severally to possess, what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the rest: their meeting therefore was not to establish any real amity or lasting concord, for that was impossible, but to suspend their own quarrels for the present, and with common forces to oppress their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the Republic; without which all their several hopes and ambitious views must inevitably be blasted.

The place appointed for the interview, was a small Island, about two miles from Bononia, formed by the river Rhenus, which runs near to that City¹¹: here they met, as men of their character must necessarily meet, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other, being all attended by their choicest troops, each with five Legions, disposed in separate camps within sight of the Island. Lepidus entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see that the place was clear, and free from treachery; and when he had given the signal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the Island by bridges, which they left guarded on each side by three hundred of their own men. Their first care instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under

their clothes; and when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his seat betwixt the other two, in the most honorable place, on the account of his being Consul.

In this situation they spent three days in a close conference, to adjust the plan of their accommodation, the substance of which was that the Three should be invested jointly with supreme power for the term of five years, with the title of Triumvirs, for settling the state of the Republic: that they should act in all cases by common consent, nominate the Magistrates and Governors both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the public by their sole will and pleasure: that Octavius should have for his peculiar province, Africa with Sicily, Sardinia, and the other Islands of the Mediterranean; Lepidus, Spain, with the Narboneſe Gaul; Antony, the other two Gauls on both ſides of the Alps: and to put them all upon a level, both in title and authority, that Octavius ſhould reſign the Conſulſhip to Ventidius for the remainder of the year: that Antony and Octavius ſhould proſecute the war againſt Brutus and Caſſius, each of them at the head of twenty Legions; and Lepidus with three Legions be left to guard the City: and at the end of the war, that eighteen Cities or Colonies, the beſt and richeſt of Italy, together with their lands and diſtricts, ſhould be taken from their owners, and aſſigned to the perpetual poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers, as the reward of their faithful ſervices. Theſe conditions were publiſhed to their ſeveral armies, and received by

them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which at the desire of the foldiers was ratified likewise by a marriage, agreed to be consummated between Octavius and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia, by her first husband P. Clodius.

The last thing that they adjusted, was the list of a proscription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occasioned much difficulty and warm contests among them; till each of them, in his turn, consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his Colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of three hundred Senators, and two thousand Knights; all doomed to die for a crime the most unpardonable to Tyrants, their adherence to the cause of liberty. They reserved the publication of the general list to their arrival at Rome, excepting only a few of the most obnoxious; the Heads of the Republican party, about seventeen in all: the chief of whom was Cicero. These they marked out for immediate destruction; and sent their Emissaries away directly to surprise and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this number were presently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the rest hunted out by the foldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the City with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy: so that the Consul Pedius was forced

to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds and appease the fears of the people; and as soon as it was light published the names of the seventeen, who were principally fought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others: but he himself was so shocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that he died the day following ⁸².

We have no hint from any of Cicero's Letters (for none remain to us of so low a date) what his sentiments were on this interview of the three Chiefs; or what resolution he had taken in consequence of it. He could not but foresee that it must needs be fatal to him, if it passed to the satisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cause to apprehend, it is certain that it was still in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus in Macedonia: but he seems to have thought that remedy worse than the evil; and had so great an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and so little value for the few years of life which remained to him, that he declares it a thousand times better to die, than to seek his safety from camps ⁸³: and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himself, since his son was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus.

The old Historians endeavour to persuade us,

that Cæsar did not give him up to the revenge of his Colleagues without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve him⁸⁴; but all that tenderness was artificial, and a part assumed to give the better color to his desertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union, and a necessary sacrifice to the common interest of the Three: those who met to destroy liberty, must come determined to destroy him; since his authority was too great to be suffered in an enemy; and experience had shown, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppressors of his country.

Cæsar therefore was pleased with it undoubtedly, as much as the rest; and when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, showed himself more cruel and bloody in urging the Proscription, than either of the other two⁸⁵. Nothing, says Velleius, was so shameful on this occasion, as that Cæsar should be forced to proscribe any man; or that Cicero especially should be proscribed by him⁸⁶. But there was no force in the case: for though, to save Cæsar's honor, and to extort, as it were, Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother, Paullus; and Antony his uncle, L. Cæsar, who were both actually put into the list; yet neither of them lost their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations⁸⁷.

If we look back a little, to make a general view of the conduct of these Triumvirs, we shall see Antony roused at once by Cæsar's death from the

midst of pleasure and debauch, and a most abject obsequiousness to Cæsar's power, forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprising vigor and address; till after many and almost insuperable difficulties, he obtained the sovereign dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief instrument that he made use of; whom he employed very successfully at home, till he found himself in condition to support his pretensions alone, and then sent to the other side of the Alps, that in case of any disaster in Italy, he might be provided with a secure resource in his army. By this management he had ordered his affairs so artfully, that by conquering at Modena, he would have made himself probably the sole Master of Rome; while the only difference of being conquered, was to admit two partners with him into the Empire; the one of whom at least he was sure always to govern.

Octavius's conduct was not less politic or vigorous: he had great parts, and an admirable genius, with a dissimulation sufficient to persuade that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impossible for him to succeed immediately to his Uncle's power, so his first business was, to keep the place vacant till he should be more ripe for it; and to give the exclusion in the mean while to every body else. With this view he acted the Republican with great gravity; put himself under the direction of Cicero; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his interest carried him; that is, to depress Antony,

and drive him out of Italy ; who was his immediate and most dangerous rival. Here he stopt short, and paused a while, to consider what new measures this new state of things would suggest: when by the unexpected death of the two Consuls, finding himself at once the master of every thing at home, and Antony, by the help of Lepidus, rising again the stronger from his fall, he saw presently that his best chance for Empire was to content himself with a share of it, till he should be in condition to seize the whole; and from the same policy with which he joined himself with the Republic to destroy Antony, he now joined with Antony to oppress the Republic, as the best means of securing and advancing his own power.

Lepidus was the Dupe of them both; a vain, weak, inconstant man; incapable of Empire, yet aspiring to the possession of it; and abusing the most glorious opportunity of serving his Country, to the ruin both of his Country and himself. His wife was the Sister of M. Brutus, and his true interest lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of Laterensis, he had joined with Plancus and D. Brutus to oppress Antony, and give liberty to Rome, the merit of that service, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would necessarily have made him the first Citizen of a free Republic. But his weakness deprived him of that glory: he flattered himself, that the first share of power, which he seemed at present to possess, would give him likewise the first share

of Empire: not considering that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him who possesses it: in which, as his Colleagues far excelled him, so they would be sure always to eclipse, and whenever they thought it proper, to destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case: when Cæsar forced him to beg his life upon his knees, though at the head of twenty Legions; and deposed him from that dignity, which he knew not how to sustain⁸³.

Cicero was at his Tusculan Villa, with his Brother and Nephew, when he first received the news of the Proscription, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the Triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprise those, whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of Cicero's friends found means to give him early notice of it; upon which he set forward presently with his Brother and Nephew towards Astura; the nearest Villa which he had upon the sea: with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to Rome, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. Cicero in the mean while found a vessel ready for him at Astura, in which he presently embarked: but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had
failed

failed about two leagues along the coast, he landed at Circaëum, and spent a night near that place in great anxiety and irresolution: the question was, what course he should steer; and whether he should fly to Brutus, or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius; but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much as the expedient of dying³⁹: so that, as Plutarch says, he had some thoughts of returning to the City, and killing himself in Cæsar's house; in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude: but the importunity of his servants prevailed with him to sail forwards to Cajeta; where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian Villa, about a mile from the coast; weary of life and the sea; and declaring, that he would die in that Country, which he had so often saved⁴⁰. Here he slept soundly for several hours; though, as some writers tell us, "a great number of Crows
" were fluttering all the while, and making a
" strange noise about his windows, as if to rouse
" and warn him of his approaching fate: and that
" one of them made its way into the chamber,
" and pulled away his very bed-clothes; till his
" slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and
" ashamed to see brute creatures more solicit-
" ous for his safety than themselves, forced him
" into his Litter, or portable Chair," and carried him away towards the ship, through the private ways and walks of his woods; having just heard that soldiers were already come into the country in quest of him, and not far from the Villa. As

soon as they were gone, the soldiers arrived at the house: and perceiving him to be fled, pursued immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in the wood. Their Leader was one Popilius Lænus, a Tribune, or Colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. As soon as the soldiers appeared, the servants prepared themselves to fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own: but Cicero commanded them to set him down, and to make no resistance⁹¹: then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness, which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck, as forwardly as he could, out of the Litter, he bad them do their work, and take what they wanted: upon which they presently cut off his head and both his hands, and returned with them in all haste and great joy towards Rome, as the most agreeable present which they could possibly carry to Antony. Popilius charged himself with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head, which had saved his own⁹²: he found Antony in the Forum, surrounded with guards and crowds of people; but upon showing from a distance the spoils which he brought, he was rewarded upon the spot with the honor of a Crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling. Antony ordered the head to be fixed upon the Rostra, between the two hands: a sad spectacle to the City; and what drew tears from every eye; to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously

from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the Roman people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of Sycophants and Traitors. The deaths of the rest, says a Historian of that age, caused only a private and particular sorrow; but Cicero's an universal one³³: it was a triumph over the Republic itself; and seemed to confirm and establish the perpetual slavery of Rome. Antony considered it as such, and satiated with Cicero's blood, declared the Proscription at an end.

He was killed on the seventh of December; about ten days from the settlement of the Triumvirate: after he had lived sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days³⁴.

SECT. XII.

THE story of Cicero's death continued fresh on the minds of the Romans for many ages after it; and was delivered down to posterity with all its circumstances, as one of the most affecting and memorable events of their History: so that the spot, on which it happened, seems to have been visited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence¹. The odium of it fell chiefly on Antony; yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus; which explains the reason of that silence, which is observed about him, by the writers of that age; and why his name is not so much as mentioned either by Horace or Virgil. For though his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for court-Poets; since the very mention of him must have been a satire on the Prince: especially while Antony lived; among the Sycophants of whose Court it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent: nay Virgil, on an occasion, that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merit, chose to do an injustice rather to Rome itself, by yielding the superiority of eloquence to the Greeks, which they themselves had been forced to yield to Cicero².

Livy, however, whose candor made Augustus call him a Pompeian³, while out of complaisance to the times he seems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murder, yet after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, that to praise him as he deserved, required the eloquence of Cicero himself⁴. Augustus too, as Plutarch tells us, happening one day to catch his grandson reading one of Cicero's books, which, for fear of the Emperor's displeasure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it, gave it back again, and said, this was a learned man my child, and a lover of his country⁵.

In the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to Cicero subsided, by the death of those whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defame him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine out in its proper lustre: and in the reign even of Tiberius, when an eminent Senator and Historian, Cremutius Cordus, was condemned to die for praising Brutus, yet Paterculus could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with Antony, on the subject of Cicero's death: "Thou hast done nothing An-
" tony; hast done nothing, I say, by setting a
" price on that divine and illustrious head, and
" by a detestable reward, procuring the death
" of so great a Consul and preserver of the Re-
" public. Thou hast snatched from Cicero a
" troublesome being; a declining age: a life more

“ miserable under thy dominion, than death it-
“ self; but so far from diminishing the glory of
“ his deeds and sayings, thou hast increased it.
“ He lives and will live in the memory of all
“ ages; and as long as this system of nature,
“ whether by chance or providence, or what
“ way soever formed, which he alone, of all
“ the Romans, comprehended in his mind, and
“ illustrated by his eloquence, shall remain entire,
“ it will draw the praises of Cicero along with
“ it; and all posterity will admire his writings
“ against thee, curse thy act against him——.”

From this period, all the Roman writers, whether Poets or Historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of Cicero, as the most illustrious of all their Patriots, and the parent of the Roman wit and eloquence; who had done more honor to his country by his writings than all their Conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of his learning beyond those of their Empire'. So that their very Emperors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of their inferior Deities': a rank, which he would have preserved to this day, if he had happened to live in Papal Rome, where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says', from the innocence of his life, of obtaining the honor and title of a saint.

As to his person, he was tall and slender with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comeliness and

dignity to the last, with a certain air of chearfulness and serenity, that imprinted both affection and respect¹⁰. His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigues of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigor. The care that he employed upon his body, consisted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens for the refreshment of his voice from the labor of the bar¹¹: yet in the summer, he generally gave himself the exercise of a journey, to visit his several estates and villas in different parts of Italy. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance: by these he preserved himself from all violent distempers; and when he happened to be attacked by any slight indisposition, used to enforce the severity of his abstinence, and starve it presently by fasting¹².

In his clothes and dress, which the wise have usually considered as an index of the mind, he observed, what he prescribes in his book of offices, a modesty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of singularity; and avoiding the extremes of a rustic negligence and foppish delicacy¹³: both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childish

pride and ostentation of proclaiming our pretensions to it.

In his domestic and social life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a most indulgent parent, a sincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous master. His Letters are full of the tenderest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all his struggles in the Senate and the Forum¹⁴. The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves: when by their fidelity and services they had recommended themselves to favor. We have seen a remarkable instance of it in Tiro; whose case was no otherwise different from the rest, than as it was distinguished by the superiority of his merit. In one of his Letters to Atticus, I have nothing more, says he, to write: and my mind indeed is something ruffled at present, for Socitheus my reader, is dead, a hopeful youth: which has afflicted me more than one would imagine the death of a slave ought to do¹⁵.

He entertained very high notions of friendship; and of its excellent use and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illustrated in his entertaining treatise on that subject; where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the variety of friendships, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deserting, or even slighting any one, whom he had once

called his friend, or esteemed an honest man. It was his delight to advance their prosperity, to relieve their adversity; the same friend in both fortunes; but more zealous only in the bad, where his help was the most wanted, and his services the most disinterested; looking upon it not as a friendship, but a sordid traffic and merchandize of benefits, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice estimate of gain and loss¹⁶. He calls gratitude the mother of virtue; reckons it the most capital of all duties; and uses the words, grateful and good, as terms synonymous, and inseparably united in the same character. His writings abound with sentiments of this sort, as his life did with the examples of them¹⁷; so that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a request, observes to him with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a sufficient excuse for it; since he had established such a custom, of doing every thing for his friends, that they no longer requested, but claimed a right to command him¹⁸.

Yet he was not more generous to his friends, than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greatest injuries, upon the slightest submission; and though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himself, yet when it was in his power to hurt, he sought out reasons to forgive; and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his most inveterate enemies; of which there are numerous instances in his history. He declared nothing to

be more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability; and laid it down for a natural duty, to moderate our revenge, and observe a temper in punishing; and held repentance to be a sufficient ground for remitting it: and it was one of his sayings, delivered to a public assembly, that his enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal¹⁹.

His manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character; splendid and noble: his house was open to all the learned Strangers and Philosophers of Greece and Asia; several of whom were constantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and spent their whole lives with him²⁰. His levee was perpetually crowded with multitudes of all ranks; even Pompey himself not disdaining to frequent it. The greatest part came, not only to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of business to the Senate or the Forum; where upon any debate or transaction of moment, they constantly waited to conduct him home again: but on ordinary days, when these morning-visits were over, as they usually were before ten, he retired to his books, and shut himself up in his library, without seeking any other diversion, but what his children afforded to the short intervals of his leisure²¹. His supper was his greatest meal; and the usual season with all the great, of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night: yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light: and never

used to sleep again at noon, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practised in Rome to this day²².

But though he was so temperate and studious, yet when he was engaged to sup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aside his rules, and forgot the invalid, and was gay and sprightly, and the very soul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of social life, he thought it inhospitable, not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish reservedness. But he was really a lover of chearful entertainments; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and singularly turned to raillery²³: a talent, which was of great service to him at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary; relieve the satiety of a tedious cause; divert the minds of the Judges; and mitigate the rigor of a sentence, by making both the Bench and Audience merry at the expense of the Accuser²⁴.

This use of it was always thought fair; and greatly applauded in public trials; but in private conversations, he was charged sometimes with pushing his raillery too far; and, through a consciousness of his superior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his lashes inflicted²⁵. Yet of all his sarcastical jokes, which are transmitted to us by Antiquity, we shall not observe any, but what were pointed against characters, either ridiculous or profligate; such as he despised for their follies, or

hated for their vices ; and though he might provoke the spleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was consistent with a regard to his own ease, yet he never appears to have hurt or lost a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jesting.

It is certain, that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that of his eloquence ; and that several spurious collections of his sayings were handed about in Rome in his life-time ²⁶ ; till his friend Trebonius, after he had been Consul, thought it worth while to publish an authentic edition of them, in a volume which he addressed to Cicero himself ²⁷. Cæsar likewise, in the height of his power, having taken a fancy to collect the Apophthegms or memorable sayings of eminent men, gave strict orders to all his friends, who used to frequent Cicero, to bring him every thing of that sort, which happened to drop from him in their company ²⁸. But Tiro, Cicero's freedman, who served him chiefly in his studies and literary affairs, published after his death, the most perfect collection of his sayings in three books : where Quintilian, however, wishes, that he had been more sparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them ²⁹. None of these books are now remaining, nor any other specimen of the jests, but what are incidentally scattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings ; which, as the same judicious Critic observes, through the change of taste in different ages, and the want of that action or gesture,

which gave the chief spirit to many of them, could never be explained to advantage, though several had attempted it. How much more cold then, and insipid must they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular character and stories, to which they relate, as well as the peculiar fashions, humor and taste of wit in that age? Yet even in these, as Quintilian also tells us, as well as in his other compositions, people would sooner find what they might reject, than what they could add to them³⁰.

He had a great number of fine Houses, in different parts of Italy; some writers reckon up eighteen; which, excepting the family-seat at Arpinum, seem to have been all purchased, or built by himself. They were situated generally near to the sea, and placed at proper distances along the lower coast, between Rome and Pompeii, which was about four leagues beyond Naples; and for the elegance of structure, and the delights of their situation, are called by him the eyes, or the beauties of Italy³¹. Those in which he took the most pleasure, and usually spent some part of every year, were his Tusculum, Antium, Astura, Arpinum; his Formian, Cuman, Puteolan and Pompeian Villas; all of them large enough for the reception, not only of his own family, but of his friends and numerous guests; many of whom of the first quality used to pass several days with him in their excursions from Rome. But besides these, that may properly be reckoned seats, with large plantations and gardens

around them, he had several little Inns, as he calls them, or baiting places on the road, built for his accommodation in passing from one House to another ³².

His Tusculan House had been Sylla's, the Dictator's; and in one of its apartments had a painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the Marfic war, in which Cicero had served under him as a volunteer ³³: it was about four leagues from Rome, on the top of a beautiful Hill, covered with the Villas of the nobility, and affording an agreeable prospect of the City, and the country around it; with plenty of water flowing through his grounds in a large stream or canal, for which he paid a rent to the Corporation of Tusculum ³⁴. Its neighbourhood to Rome gave him the opportunity of a retreat at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the Senate, to breathe a little fresh air, and divert himself with his friends or family; so that this was the place in which he took the most delight, and spent the greatest share of his leisure; and for that reason improved and adorned it beyond all his other houses ³⁵.

When a greater satiety of the City, or a longer vacation in the Forum disposed him to seek a calmer scene, and more undisturbed retirement, he used to remove to Antium or Astura. At Antium he placed his best collection of books, and as it was not above thirty miles from Rome, he could have daily intelligence there of every thing that passed in the City. Astura was a little Island, at the mouth of a river of the same name, about two

leagues farther towards the South , between the promontories of Antium and Circæum, and in the view of them both ; a place peculiarly adapted to the purposes of solitude , and a severe retreat ; covered with a thick wood , cut out into shady walks , in which he used to spend the gloomy and splenetic moments of his life.

In the height of Summer , the Mansion-house at Arpinum , and the little Island adjoining , by the advantage of its groves and cascades , afforded the best defence against the inconvenience of the heats : where in the greatest , that he had ever remembered , we find him refreshing himself , as he writes to his Brother , with the utmost pleasure , in the cool stream of his Fibronus ¹⁶.

His other Villas were situated in the more public parts of Italy, where all the best company of Rome had their Houses of pleasure. He had two at Formiæ, a lower and upper Villa ; the one near to the port of Cajeta , the other upon the mountains adjoining : he had a third on the shore of Baiæ , between the Lake Avernus and Puteoli , which he calls his Puteolan ; a fourth on the hills of old Cumæ , called his Cuman Villa ; and a fifth at Pompeii, four leagues beyond Naples, in a country famed for the purity of its air , fertility of its soil , and delicacy of its fruits. His Puteolan House was built after the plan of the Academy of Athens , and called by that name ; being adorned with a Portico and a grove , for the same use of philosophical conferences. Some time after his death

it fell into the hands of Antistius Vetus, who repaired and improved it; when a spring of warm water, which happened to burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to the following Epigram, made by Laurea Tullius, one of Cicero's freedmen.

*Quo tua Romana vindex clarissime linguae
Sylva loco melius surgere jussa viret,
Atque Academia celebratam nomine villam
Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.
Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.
Ut quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,
Sint plures, oculis quæ mediantur, aquæ³⁷.*

*Where groves, once thine, now with fresh verdure bloom,
Great Parent of the Eloquence of Rome,
And where thy Academy, favorite seat,
Now to Antistius yields its sweet retreat.
A gushing stream bursts out, of wondrous power,
To heal the eyes, and weakened sight restore.
The place, which all its pride from Cicero drew
Repays this honor to his memory due,
That since his works throughout the world are spread,
And with such eagerness by all are read,
New springs of healing quality should rise,
To ease the increase of labor to the eyes.*

The

The furniture of his Houses was suitable to the elegance of his taste, and the magnificence of his buildings : his galleries were adorned with statues and paintings of the best Grecian Masters ; and his vessels and moveables were of the best work and choicest materials. There was a Cedar Table of his remaining in Pliny's time, said to be the first which was ever seen in Rome, and to have cost him eighty pounds³⁸. He thought it the part of an eminent Citizen, to preserve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illustrate his dignity by the splendor of his life. This was the reason of the great variety of his houses, and of their situation in the most conspicuous parts of Italy, along the course of the Apian road ; that they might occur at every stage to the observation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

The reader perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have said of the mediocrity of his paternal estate, will be at a loss to conceive whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to sustain the vast expense of building and maintaining such a number of noble houses ; but the solution will be easy, when we recollect the great opportunities that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of Rome, were ; first, the public Magistracies, and Provincial Commands ; secondly, the presents of Kings, Princes, and foreign states, whom they had obliged by their services and protection : and though no man was more moderate in the use of

these advantages than Cicero, yet to one of his prudence, œconomy, and contempt of vicious pleasures, these were abundantly sufficient to answer all his expenses³⁹: for in his Province of Cilicia, after all the memorable instances of his generosity, by which he saved to the public a full million sterling, which all other Governors had applied to their private use, yet at the expiration of his year, he left in the hands of the Publicans in Asia near twenty thousand pounds, reserved from the strict dues of his Government, and remitted to him afterwards at Rome⁴⁰. But there was another way of acquiring money, esteemed the most reputable of any which brought large and frequent supplies to him, the legacies of deceased friends. It was the peculiar custom of Rome, for the Clients and dependents of families to bequeath at their death to their Patrons some considerable part of their estates, as the most effectual testimony of their respect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit. Thus Cicero mentions it to the honor of Lucullus, that while he governed Asia as Proconsul, many great estates were left to him by will⁴¹: and Nepos tells us, in praise of Atticus, that he succeeded to many inheritances of the same kind, bequeathed to him on no other account, than on his friendly and amiable temper⁴². Cicero had his full share of these testamentary donations; as we see from the many instances of them mentioned in his Letters⁴³; and when he was falsely reproached by Antony, with being neglected on these occasions, he declared in his reply, that he

had gained from this single article about two hundred thousand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying friends; not the forged wills of persons unknown to him; with which he charged Antony ⁴⁴.

His moral character was never blemished by the stain of any habitual vice; but was a shining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others the most licentious and profligate ⁴⁵. His mind was superior to all the sordid passions which engross little souls; avarice, envy, malice, lust. If we sift his familiar letters, we cannot discover in them the least hint of any thing base, immodest, spiteful, or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, justice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inspiring all his thoughts and actions. Though no man ever felt the effects of other people's envy more severely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: this is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident indeed from his works; where we find him perpetually praising and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adversary; celebrating merit wherever it was found; whether in the ancients or his contemporaries; whether in Greeks or Romans; and verifying a maxim which he had declared in a speech to the Senate, that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conscious of his own ⁴⁶.

His sprightly wit would naturally have recommended him to the favor of the Ladies; whose company he used to frequent when young, and with

many of whom of the first quality, he was oft engaged in his riper years to confer about the interests of their husbands, brothers, or relations, who were absent from Rome : yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry, or intrigue with any of them. In a letter to Pætus, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocular account of his supping with their friend Volumnius, an Epicurean wit of the first class, when the famed Courtesan, Cytheris, who had been Volumnius's slave, and was then his mistress made one of the company at table : where after several jokes on that incident, he says, that he never suspected that she would have been of the party ; and though he was always a lover of cheerful entertainments, yet nothing of that sort had ever pleased him when young, much less now, when he was old⁴⁷. There was one Lady, however, called Cærellia, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correspondence of letters ; on which Dio, as it has been already hinted, absurdly grounds some little scandal, though he owns her to have been seventy years old. She is frequently mentioned in Cicero's Letters, as a lover of books and philosophy ; and on that account, as fond of his company and writings : but while out of complaisance to her sex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with respect ; yet by the hints which he drops of her to Atticus, it appears that she had no share of his affections, or any real authority with him⁴⁸.

His failings were as few as were ever found

in any eminent genius ; such as flowed from his constitution , not his will ; and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity , than to the fault of the man. He was thought to be too sanguine in prosperity , too desponding in adversity : and apt to persuade himself in each fortune , that it would never have an end ⁴⁹. This is Pollio's account of him : which seems in general to be true : Brutus touches the first part of it in one of his letters to him ; and when things were going prosperously against Antony , put him gently in mind , that he seemed to trust too much to his hopes ⁵⁰ : and he himself allows the second , and says , that if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events , apprehending always the worst , rather than hoping the best , he was the man ; and if that was a fault , confesses himself not to be free from it ⁵¹ : yet in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity , it was such , he tells us , as showed itself rather in foreseeing dangers , than in encountering them : an explication , which the latter part of his life fully confirmed , and above all his death , which no man could sustain with greater courage and resolution ⁵².

But the most conspicuous and glaring passion of his soul was , the love of glory and thirst of praise : a passion , that he not only avowed , but freely indulged ; and sometimes , as he himself confesses , to a degree even of vanity ⁵³. This often gave his enemies a plausible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance ; ⁵⁴ while the forwardness that he showed to celebrate his own merits in all his

public speeches , seemed to justify their censures : and since this is generally considered as the grand foible of his life , and has been handed down implicitly from age to age , without ever being fairly examined , or rightly understood , it will be proper to lay open the source from which the passion itself flowed , and explain the nature of that glory , of which he professes himself so fond.

True glory then , according to his own definition of it , is a wide and illustrious fame of many and great benefits conferred upon our friends , our country , or the whole race of mankind " : it is not , he says , the empty blast of popular favor , or the applause of a giddy multitude , which all wise men had ever despised , and none more than himself ; but the consenting praise of all honest men , and the incorrupt testimony of those who can judge of excellent merit , which resounds always to virtue , as the echo to the voice ; and since it is a general companion of good actions , ought not to be rejected by good men. That those who aspired to this glory , were not to expect ease or pleasure , or tranquillity of life for their pains ; but must give up their own peace to secure the peace of others ; must expose themselves to storms and dangers for the public good ; sustain many battles with the audacious and the wicked , and some even with the powerful : in short , must behave themselves so , as to give their citizens cause to rejoice that they had ever been born " . This is the notion that he inculcates every where of true glory : which is surely one of the noblest principles

that can inspire a human breast; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the strongest in the best and most elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and laudable, that History has to offer to us, through all the ages of the heathen world. There is not an instance, says Cicero, of a man's exerting himself ever with praise and virtue in the dangers of his country, who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, and a regard to posterity⁵⁷. Give me a boy, says Quintilian, whom praise excites, whom glory warms: for such a scholar was sure to answer all his hopes, and do credit to his discipline⁵⁸. Whether posterity will have any respect for me, says Pliny, I know not; but am sure that I have deserved some from it: I will not say by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, which I have always paid to it⁵⁹.

It will not seem strange, to observe the wisest of the ancients pushing this principle to so great a length, and considering glory as the amplest reward of a well-spent life⁶⁰; when we reflect, that the greatest part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even those who believed a state of happiness to the good, yet entertained it with so much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wish, than a well-grounded hope; and were glad therefore to lay hold on that which seemed to be within their reach, a futurity of their own creating; an immortality of fame and glory from the applause of posterity. This, by a pleasing

fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of existence; and had no small comfort in imagining, that though the sense of it should not reach to themselves, it would extend at least to others; and that they should be doing good still when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus Cicero, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but considered his acts, as seeds sown in the immense field of the universe, to raise up the fruit of glory and immortality to him through a succession of infinite ages: nor has he been frustrated of his hope, or disappointed of his end; but as long as the name of Rome subsists, or as long as learning, virtue and liberty preserve any credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all posterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from his boasting so frequently of himself in his speeches both to the Senate and the people, though it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings; yet if we attend to the circumstances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we shall find it not only excusable, but in some degree even necessary. The fate of Rome was now brought to a crisis; and the contending parties were making their last efforts, either to oppress or preserve it: Cicero was the head of those who stood up for its liberty; which entirely depended on the influence of his counsels: he had many

years therefore been the common mark of the rage and malice of all who were aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the state; and while these were generally supported by the military power of the Empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the Senate and people, grounded on the experience of his services, and the persuasion of his integrity: so that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counsels; in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, against the intrigues of those, who were employing all arts to subvert them. The frequent commemoration of his acts, says Quintilian, was not made so much for glory, as for defence; to repel calumny, and vindicate his measures when they were attacked¹: and this is what Cicero himself declared in all his speeches; “that no man ever heard him
“speak of himself but when he was forced to it:
“that when he was urged with fictitious crimes,
“it was his custom to answer them with his real
“services: and if ever he said any thing glorious
“of himself, it was not through a fondness of
“praise, but to repel an accusation²: that no
“man who had been conversant in great affairs,
“and treated with particular envy, could refute
“the contumely of an enemy, without touching
“upon his own praises; and after all his labors
“for the common safety, if a just indignation
“had drawn from him at any time what might
“seem to be vainglorious, it might reasonably be

“ forgiven to him ” : that when others were silent
“ about him, if he could not then forbear to speak
“ of himself, that indeed would be shameful ; but
“ when he was injured , accused , exposed to
“ popular odium , he must certainly be allowed
“ to assert his liberty , if they would not suffer
“ him to retain his dignity “ . ” This then was
the true state of the case , as it is evident from
the facts of his history : he had an ardent love of
glory , and an eager thirst of praise : was pleased,
when living , to hear his acts applauded ; yet more
still with imagining , that they would ever be
celebrated when he was dead : a passion , which
for the reasons already hinted , had always the
greatest force on the greatest souls : but it must
needs raise our contempt and indignation , to see
every conceited pedant , and trifling declaimer , who
know little of Cicero’s real character , and less still
of their own , presuming to call him the vainest of
mortals.

But there is no point of light , in which we
can view him with more advantage or satisfac-
tion to ourselves , than in the contemplation of
his learning , and the surprising extent of his
knowledge. This shines so conspicuous in all
the monuments which remain of him , that it
even lessens the dignity of his general character ;
while the idea of the scholar absorbs that of the
Senator ; and by considering him as the greatest
writer , we are apt to forget , that he was the
greatest Magistrate also of Rome. We learn our
Latin from him at school ; our style and senti-

ments at the College: here the generality take their leave of him, and seldom think of him more, but as of an Orator, a Moralist, or Philosopher of Antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a single part, without surveying the whole; since the perfection of each depends on its proportion and relation to the rest; while, in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, considered separately, will appear admirable; yet much more so, when it is found in the possession of the first Statesman of a mighty Empire: his abilities as a Statesman are glorious; yet surprise us still more, when they are observed in the ablest Scholar and Philosopher of his age: but an union of both these characters exhibits that sublime specimen of perfection, to which the best parts with the best culture can exalt human nature “.

No man, whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science, and the politer arts; in Oratory, Poetry, Philosophy, Law, History, Criticism, Politics, Ethics; in each of which he equalled, the greatest masters of his time; in some of them excelled all men of all times “. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a small part of what he really published; and though many of these are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet

they are justly esteemed the most precious remains of all antiquity; and like the Sybilline books, if more of them had perished, would have been equal still to any price.

His industry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days: this was the secret by which he performed such wonders, and reconciled perpetual study with perpetual affairs. He suffered no part of his leisure to be idle, or the least interval of it to be lost; but what other people gave to the public shows, to pleasures, to feasts, nay, even to sleep, and the ordinary refreshments of nature, he generally gave to his books, and the enlargement of his knowledge⁶⁷. On days of business, when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no other time for meditating, but when he was taking a few turns in his walks, where he used to dictate his thoughts to his Scribes, who attended him⁶⁸. We find many of his letters dated before day-light; some from the Senate; others from his meals, and the crowd of his morning levee⁶⁹.

No compositions afford more pleasure than the Epistles of great men: they touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer. The letters of eminent wits, eminent scholars, eminent statesmen, are all esteemed in their several kinds; but there never was a collection that excelled so much in every kind as Cicero's for the purity of style, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the persons concerned in

them. We have about a thousand still remaining, all written after he was forty years old; which are but a small part, not only of what he wrote, but of what were actually published after his death by his servant Tiro. For we see many volumes of them quoted by the Ancients, which are utterly lost; as the first book of his Letters to Licinius Calvus; the first also to Q. Axius; a second book to his son, a second also to Corn. Nepos: a third book to J. Cæsar, a third to Octavius; and a third also to Panfa; an eighth book to M. Brutus; and a ninth to A. Hirtius. Of all which, excepting a few to J. Cæsar and Brutus, we have nothing more left than some scattered phrases and sentences, gathered from the citations of the old Critics and Grammarians⁷⁰. What makes these Letters still more estimable is, that he had never designed them for the public, nor kept any copies of them; for the year before his death, when Atticus was making some inquiry about them, he sent him word, that he had made no collection; and that Tiro had preserved only about seventy⁷¹. Here then we may expect to see the genuine man, without disguise or affectation; especially in his letters to Atticus, to whom he talked with the same frankness as to himself; opened the rise and progress of each thought; and never entered into any affair without his particular advice: so that these may be considered as the memoirs of his times; containing the most authentic materials for the History of that age, and laying

open the grounds and motives of all the great events that happened in it²²: and it is the want of attention to them, that makes the generality of writers in these times so superficial, as well as erroneous; while they chuse to transcribe the dry and imperfect relations of the later Greek Historians, rather than take the pains to extract the original account of facts from one who was a principal actor in them.

In his familiar Letters he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the first that occurred from common use and the language of conversation²³. Whenever he was disposed to joke, his wit was easy and natural; flowing always from the subject, and throwing out what came uppermost; nor disdaining even a pun, when it served to make his friends laugh²⁴. In Letters of compliment, some of which were addressed to the greatest men who ever lived, his inclination to please is expressed in a manner agreeable to nature and reason, with the utmost delicacy both of sentiment and diction, yet without any of those pompous titles and lofty epithets, which modern custom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falsely stamped with the name of politeness; though they are the real offspring of barbarism, and the effect of our degeneracy both in taste and manners. In his political Letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things: he always touches the point on which the affair turns; foresees the danger, and foretels the mis-

chief; which never failed to follow upon the neglect of his counsels : of which there were so many instances, that as an eminent writer of his own time observed of him, his prudence seemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every thing that afterwards happened, with the veracity of a Prophet ⁷⁵. But none of his letters do him more credit than those of the recommendatory kind: the others show his wit and his parts, these his benevolence and his probity: he solicits the interest of his friends with all the warmth and force of words, of which he was master: and alledges generally some personal reason for his peculiar zeal in the cause, and that his own honor was concerned in the success of it ⁷⁶.

But his Letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the only monuments of that sort, which remain to us from free Rome. They breathe the last words of expiring liberty; a great part of them having been written in the very crisis of its ruin, to rouse up all the virtue, that was left in the honest and the brave, to the defence of their country. The advantage, which they derive from this circumstance, will easily be observed by comparing them with the Epistles of the best and greatest: who flourished afterwards in Imperial Rome. Pliny's Letters are justly admired by men of taste; they show the scholar, the wit, the fine gentleman; yet we cannot but observe a poverty and barrenness through the whole, that betrays the

awe of a master. All his stories and reflections terminate in private life; there is nothing important in politics; no great affairs explained; no account of the motives of public counsels: he had born all the same offices with Cicero, whom in all points he affected to emulate⁷⁷; yet his honors were in effect but nominal; conferred by a superior power, and administered by a superior will; and with the old titles of Consul and Proconsul, we want still the Statesman, the Politician and the Magistrate. In his Provincial command, where Cicero governed all things with supreme authority, and had Kings attendant on his orders; Pliny durst not venture to repair a Bath; or punish a fugitive slave; or incorporate a company of Masons; till he had first consulted and obtained the leave of Trajan⁷⁸.

His Historical works are all lost: the Commentaries of his Consulship in Greek; the History of his own affairs, to his return from exile, in Latin verse; and his Anecdotes, as well as the pieces, that he published on Natural History; of which Pliny quotes one, upon the wonders of Nature, and another on perfumes⁷⁹. He was meditating likewise a general History of Rome, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the only man capable of adding that glory also to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans⁸⁰. But he never found leisure to execute so great a task; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which,
short

short as it is, seems to be the best, that can be formed, for the design of a perfect History.

“ He declares it to be the first and fundamental law of History, that it should neither dare to say any thing that was false, or fear to say any thing that was true; nor give any just suspicion either of favor or disaffection: that in the relation of things, the writer should observe the order of time, and add also the description of places: that in all great and memorable transactions, he should first explain the counsels, than the acts, lastly the events: that in the counsels, he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them: in the acts, should relate not only what was done, but how it was done: in the events should show, what share chance or rashness or prudence had in them: that in regard to persons, he should describe, not only their particular actions, but the lives and characters of all those, who bear an eminent part in the story: that he should illustrate the whole in a clear, easy, natural style; flowing with a perpetual smoothness, and equability; free from the affectation of points and sentences, or the roughness of judicial pleadings⁸¹. ”

We have no remains likewise of his Poetry, except some fragments occasionally interspersed through his other writings; yet these, as I have before observed, are sufficient to convince us that his poetical genius, if it had been cultivated with the same care, would not have been inferior to

his Oratorical. The two arts are so nearly allied, that an excellency in the one seems to imply a capacity for the other; the same qualities being essential to them both; a sprightly fancy, fertile invention, flowing and numerous diction. It was in Cicero's time, that the old rusticity of the Latin muse first began to be polished by the ornaments of dress, and the harmony of numbers; but the height of perfection, to which it was carried after his death by the succeeding generation, as it left no room for a mediocrity in Poetry, so it quite eclipsed the fame of Cicero. For the world always judges of things by comparison, and because he was not so great a Poet, as Virgil and Horace, he was decried as none at all; especially in the Courts of Antony and Augustus; where it was a compliment to the Sovereign, and a fashion consequently among the flatterers³², to make his character ridiculous, wherever it lay open to them: hence flowed that perpetual raillery, which subsists to this day, on his famous verses;

Cedant arma togæ, concedant laurea linguæ.

O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam.

and two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. For Plutarch reckons him among the most eminent of the Roman Poets; and Pliny the younger was proud of emulating him in his poetic character³³; and Quintilian seems

to charge the cavils of his censurers to a principle of malignity⁸⁴. But his own verses carry the surest proof of their merit; being written in the best manner of that age, in which he lived, and in the style of Lucretius; whose Poem he is said to have revised and corrected, for its publication, after Lucretius's death⁸⁵. This, however, is certain, that he was the constant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated Poets of his time⁸⁶; of Accius, Archias, Chilius; Lucretius; Catullus; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines for some favor, that he had received from him.

*Tully, most eloquent by far
Of all, who have been or who are,
Or who in ages still to come
Shall rise of all the Sons of Rome.
To thee Catullus grateful sends
His warmest thanks, and recommends
His humble muse, as much below
All other Poets he, as Thou
All other Patrons dost excel,
In power of words and speaking well⁸⁷.*

But Poetry was the amusement only, and relief of his other studies: Eloquence was his distinguishing talent, his sovereign attribute: to this he devoted all the faculties of his soul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever surpassed: so that as a polite Historian observes, Rome had but few Orators before him, whom it could praise; none whom it could

admire⁸⁸. Demosthenes was the pattern, by which he formed himself; whom he emulated with such success, as to merit, what St. Jerom calls that beautiful elege: Demosthenes has snatched from thee the glory of being the first; thou from Demosthenes, that of being the only Orator⁸⁹. The genius, the capacity, the style and manner of them both were much the same; their eloquence of that great, sublime and comprehensive kind, which dignified every subject, and gave it all the force and beauty of which it was capable: it was that roundness of speaking, as the ancients call it, where there was nothing either redundant or deficient; nothing either to be added or retrenched; their perfections were in all points so transcendent, and yet so similar, that the Critics are not agreed on which side to give the preference: Quintilian indeed, the most judicious of them, has given it on the whole to Cicero: but if, as others have thought, Cicero had not all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himself calls it, the thunder of Demosthenes; he excelled him in the copiousness and elegance of his diction, the variety of his sentiments; and above all, in the vivacity of his wit, and smartness of his raillery; Demosthenes had nothing jocose or facetious in him; yet by attempting sometimes to jest, showed, that the thing itself did not displease, but did not belong to him: for, as Longinus says, whenever he affected to be pleasant, he made himself ridiculous; and if he happened to raise a laugh, it was chiefly upon himself. Whereas Cicero, from a perpetual

fund of wit and ridicule, had the power always to please, when he found himself unable to convince; and could put his Judges into good humor, when he had cause to be afraid of their severity; so that by the opportunity of a well-timed-joke, he is said to have preserved many of his Clients from manifest ruin⁹⁰.

Yet in all this height and fame of his eloquence, there was another set of Orators at the same time in Rome; men of parts and learning, and of the first quality; who, while they acknowledged the superiority of his genius, yet censured his diction, as not truly Attic or classical: some calling it loose and languid; others tumid and exuberant⁹¹. These men affected a minute and fastidious correctness, pointed sentences, short and concise periods, without a syllable to spare in them; as if the perfection of Oratory consisted in a frugality of words, and in crowding our sentiments into the narrowest compass⁹². The chief Patrons of this taste were, M. Brutus, Licinius, Calvus, Asinius Pollio and Sallust; whom Seneca seems to treat, as the author of the obscure, abrupt, and sententious style⁹³. Cicero often ridicules the pretenders to Attic elegance; as judging of eloquence, not by the force of the art, but their own weakness; and resolving to decry what they could not attain; and to admire nothing, but what they could imitate⁹⁴: and though their way of speaking, he says, might please the ear of a critic or a scholar, yet it was not of that sublime and sonorous kind,

whose end was not only to instruct, but to move an audience: an eloquence, born for the multitude; whose merit was always shown by its effects, of exciting admiration, and extorting shouts of applause; and on which there never was any difference of judgment between the learned and the populace⁵⁵.

This was the genuine eloquence, that prevailed in Rome as long as Cicero lived: his were the only speeches that were relished or admired by the City; while those Attic orators, as they called themselves, were generally despised and frequently deserted by the audience in the midst of their harangues⁵⁶. But after Cicero's death and the ruin of the Republic, the Roman oratory sunk of course with its liberty, and a false species universally prevailed; when instead of that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which launched out freely into every subject, there succeeded a guarded, dry, sententious kind; full of labored turns and studied points; and proper only for the occasion on which it was employed; the making panegyrics, and servile compliments to their Tyrants. This change of style may be observed in all their writers from Cicero's time to the younger Pliny, who carried it to its utmost perfection in his celebrated Panegyric on the Emperor Trajan: which, as it is justly admired for the elegance of diction, the beauty of sentiments, and the delicacy of its compliments, so is become in a manner the standard of fine speaking to modern times;

where it is common to hear the pretenders to Criticism descanting on the tedious length and spiritless exuberance of the Ciceronian periods. But the superiority of Cicero's eloquence, as it was acknowledged by the politest age of free Rome; so it has received the most authentic confirmation, that the nature of things can admit, from the concurrent sense of nations; which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preserved to us his inestimable remains, as a specimen of the most perfect manner of speaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted: so that, as Quintilian declared of him even in that early age, he has acquired such fame with posterity, that Cicero is not reckoned so much the name of a man, as of eloquence itself".

But we have hitherto been considering chiefly the exterior part of Cicero's character, and shall now attempt to penetrate the recesses of his mind, and discover the real source and principle of his actions, from a view of that philosophy, which he professed to follow, as the general rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from the Academic sect; which derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated Gymnasium, or place of exercise in the suburbs of Athens, called the Academy; where the professors of that school used to hold their lectures and philosophical disputations".

Socrates was the first who banished Physics out of Philosophy, which till his time had been the

sole object of it; and drew it off from the obscure and intricate inquiries into nature, and the constitution of the heavenly bodies, to questions of morality; of more immediate use and importance to the happiness of man; concerning the true notions of virtue and vice, and the natural difference of good and ill⁹⁹: and as he found the world generally prepossessed with false notions on those subjects, so his method was not to assert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others, and attack the errors in vogue: as the first step towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the nearest to it, probability¹⁰⁰. While he himself therefore professed to know nothing, he used to sift out the several doctrines of all the pretenders to science; and then tease them with a series of questions so contrived, as to reduce them, by the course of their answers, to an evident absurdity, and the impossibility of defending what they had at first affirmed¹⁰¹.

But Plato did not strictly adhere to the method of his master Socrates; and his followers wholly deserted it: for instead of the Socratic modesty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned Philosophy, as it were, into an art; and formed a system of opinions, which they delivered to their disciples, as the peculiar tenets of their sect¹⁰². Plato's Nephew, Speusippus, who was left the heir of his school, continued his lectures, as his successors also did, in the Academy, and preserved the name of Academics;

whilst Aristotle, the most eminent of Plato's scholars, retired to another Gymnasium, called the Lyceum; where from a custom which he and his followers observed, of teaching and disputing as they walked in the Porticoes of the place, they obtained the name of Peripatetics, or the walking Philosophers. These two sects though differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philosophy: they placed the chief happiness of man in virtue, with a competency of external goods; taught the existence of a God, a Providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments¹⁰³.

This was the state of the Academic school under five successive masters, who governed it after Plato; Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor; till Arcefilas the sixth discarded at once all the systems of his Predecessors, and revived the Socratic way, of affirming nothing, doubting of all things, and exposing the vanity of the reigning opinions¹⁰⁴. He alledged the necessity of making this reformation, from that obscurity of things, which had reduced Socrates and all the Ancients before him, to a confession of their ignorance: he observed, as they had all likewise done, that the senses were narrow, reason infirm, life short, truth immersed in the deep, opinion and custom every where predominant; and all things involved in darkness¹⁰⁵. He taught therefore, "That there was no certain knowledge or perception of any thing in

“ nature; nor any infallible criterion of truth and
 “ falsehood; that nothing was so detestable as
 “ rashness; nothing so scandalous to a Philoso-
 “ pher, as to profess, what was either false or
 “ unknown to him; that we ought to assert no-
 “ thing dogmatically; but in all cases suspend
 “ our assent; and instead of pretending to certain-
 “ ty, content ourselves with opinion, grounded
 “ on probability; which was all that a rational
 “ mind had to acquiesce in.” This was called
 the new Academy, in distinction from the Pla-
 tonic, or the Old: which maintained its credit down
 to Cicero’s time, by a succession of able Masters;
 the chief of whom was Carneades, the fourth
 from Arcesilas; who carried it to its utmost height
 of glory and is greatly celebrated by antiquity
 for the vivacity of his wit and force of his
 eloquence¹⁰⁶.

We must not, however, imagine, that these
 Academics continued doubting and fluctuating all
 their lives in scepticism and irresolution, without
 any precise opinions or settled principle of judg-
 ing and acting¹⁰⁷: no; their rule was as certain
 and consistent as that of any other sect; as it is
 frequently explained by Cicero in many parts of
 his works. “ We are not of that sort,” says he,
 “ whose mind is perpetually wandering in error,
 “ without any particular end or object of its pur-
 “ suit: for what would such a mind, or such a
 “ life indeed be worth, which had no determin-
 “ ate rule or method of thinking and acting?
 “ But the difference between us and the rest is,

“ that whereas they call some things certain , and
“ others uncertain , we call the one probable, the
“ other improbable. For what reason then should
“ not I pursue the probable, reject the contrary,
“ and declining the arrogance of affirming, avoid
“ the imputation of rashness; which of all things
“ is the farthest removed from wisdom ¹⁰⁸ ?

“ Again; we do not pretend to say, that there
“ is no such thing as truth; but that all truths
“ have some falsehoods annexed to them, of so
“ near a resemblance and similitude, as to af-
“ ford no certain note of distinction, whereby
“ to determine our judgment and assent :
“ whence it follows also of course, that there
“ are many things probable; which, though not
“ perfectly comprehended, yet on account of
“ their attractive and specious appearance, are
“ sufficient to govern the life of a wise man ¹⁰⁹ .

In another place, “ there is no difference, ” says
he “ between us and those who pretend to know
“ things, but that they never doubt of the
“ truth of what they maintain; whereas we
“ have many Probabilities, which we readily
“ embrace, but dare not affirm. By this we
“ preserve our judgment free and unprejudi-
“ ced, and are under no necessity of defending
“ what is prescribed and enjoined to us: whereas
“ in the other sects, men are tied down to cer-
“ tain doctrines, before they are capable of
“ judging what is the best; and in the most
“ infirm part of life, drawn either by the au-
“ thority of a friend, or charmed with the first

“ master whom they happen to hear, they form
 “ a judgment of things unknown to them;
 “ and to whatever school they chance to be
 “ driven by the tide, cleave to it as fast as
 “ the Oyſter to the rock ¹¹⁰. ”

Thus the Academy held the proper medium between the rigor of the Stoic and the indifference of the Sceptic: the Stoics embraced all their doctrines, as ſo many fixed and immutable truths, from which it was infamous to depart; and by making this their point of honor, held all their diſciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The ſceptics on the other hand, obſerved a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, that it was this or that, ſince there was as much reaſon to take it for the one as for the other, or for neither of them; and wholly indifferent which of them we thought it to be: thus they lived, without ever engaging themſelves on any ſide of a queſtion; directing their lives in the mean time by natural affections, and the laws and cuſtoms of their country ¹¹¹. But the Academics, by adopting the probable inſtead of the certain, kept the balance in an equal poſe between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to obſerve a moderation in all their opinions; and, as Plutarch, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to that old maxim;

Μηδὲν ἄγαν; ne quid nimis ¹¹².

As this school then was in no particular opposition to any, but an equal adversary to all, or rather to dogmatical Philosophy in general, so every other sect, next to itself, readily gave it the preference to the rest: which universal concession of the second place is commonly thought to infer a right to the first¹¹³: and if we reflect on the state of the Heathen world, and what they themselves so often complain of, the darkness that surrounded them, and the infinite dissensions of the best and wisest on the fundamental questions of religion and morality¹¹⁴; we must necessarily allow, that the Academic manner of philosophizing was of all others the most rational and modest, and the best adapted to the discovery of truth, whose peculiar character it was to encourage inquiry; to sift every question to the bottom; to try the force of every argument, till it had found its real moment, or the precise quantity of its weight¹¹⁵. This it was that induced Cicero, in his advanced life and ripened judgment, to desert the old Academy, and declare for the new; when from a long experience of the vanity of those sects, who called themselves the proprietors of truth, and the sole guides of life, and through a despair of finding any thing certain, he was glad, after all his pains, to take up with the probable¹¹⁶. But the genius and general character of both the Academies was in some measure still the same: for the old, though it professed to teach a peculiar system of doctrines, yet was ever diffident

and cautious of affirming; and the new only the more scrupulous and sceptical of the two; this appears from the writings of Plato, the first Master of the old; in which, as Cicero observes, nothing is absolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain, but all things freely inquired into, and both sides of the question impartially discussed¹¹⁷. Yet there was another reason that recommended this Philosophy in a peculiar manner to Cicero; its being, of all others, the best suited to the profession of an Orator: since by its practice of disputing for and against every opinion of the other sects, it gave him the best opportunity of perfecting his oratorical faculty, and acquiring a habit of speaking readily upon all subjects. He calls it therefore the parent of elegance and copiousness; and declares, that he owed all the fame of his eloquence, not to the mechanic rules of the Rhetoricians, but to the enlarged and generous principles of the Academy¹¹⁸.

This school, however, was almost deserted in Greece, and had but few disciples at Rome, when Cicero undertook its patronage, and endeavoured to revive its drooping credit. The reason is obvious: it imposed a hard task upon its scholars, of disputing against every sect, and on every question in Philosophy; and if it was difficult, as Cicero says, to be master of any one, how much more of them all? which was incumbent on those who professed themselves Academics¹¹⁹. No wonder then that it lost ground every where, in proportion

as ease and luxury prevailed ; which naturally disposed people to the doctrine of Epicurus : in relation to which, there is a smart saying recorded of Arcefilas ; who being asked, why so many of all sects went over to the Epicureans, but none ever came back from them, replied, that men might be made Eunuchs, but Eunuchs could never become men again¹²⁰.

This general view of Cicero's Philosophy, will help us to account in some measure, for that difficulty which people frequently complain of, in discovering his real sentiments ; as well as for the mistakes which they are apt to fall into in that search : since it was the distinguishing principle of the Academy, to refute the opinions of others, rather than declare any of their own. Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here : for Cicero was not scrupulous on that head, nor affected any obscurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his business to explain them : but it is the variety and different character of his several writings that perplexes the generality of his readers : for wherever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themselves possessed of his sentiments, and to quote them indifferently as such, whether from his Orations, his Dialogues, or his Letters, without attending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different person that he assumes in it.

His orations are generally of the judicial kind ; or the pleadings of an Advocate, whose business it was to make the best of his cause ; and to deliver, not so much what was true, as what was useful to

his Client; the patronage of truth belonging in such cases to the Judge, and not to the pleader ¹²¹. It would be absurd therefore to require a scrupulous veracity, or strict declaration of his sentiments in them: the thing does not admit of it; and he himself forbids us to expect it; and in one of those orations frankly declares the true nature of them all — “that man,” says he, “is much
 “mistaken, who thinks, that in these judicial
 “pleadings, he has an authentic specimen of our
 “opinions: they are the speeches of the causes
 “and the times; not of the men, or the advocates: if the causes could speak for themselves,
 “no body would employ an orator: but we are
 “employed to speak, not what we would undertake to affirm upon our authority, but what is
 “suggested by the cause and the thing itself ¹²².”

Agreeably to this notion, Quintilian tells us, “that
 “those who are truly wise, and have spent their
 “time in public affairs, and not in idle disputes,
 “though they have resolved with themselves to
 “be strictly honest in all their actions, yet will
 “not scruple to use every argument, that can be
 “of service to the cause, which they have undertaken to defend ¹²³.” In his orations therefore, where we often meet with the sentences and maxims of philosophy, we cannot always take them for his own, but as topics applied to move his audience, or to add an air of gravity and probability to his speech ¹²⁴.

His Letters indeed to familiar friends, and especially those to Atticus, place the real man before
 us,

us, and lay open his very heart : yet in these some distinction must necessarily be observed ; for in Letters of compliment, condolence, or recommendation, or where he is soliciting any point of importance, he adapts his arguments to the occasion ; and uses such as would induce his friend the most readily to grant what he desired. But as his Letters in general seldom touch upon any questions of philosophy, except slightly and incidentally, so they will afford very little help to us in the discovery of his philosophical opinions, which are the subject of the present inquiry, and for which we must wholly recur to his philosophical works.

Now the general purpose of these works was, to give a history rather of the ancient philosophy, than any account of his own, and to explain to his fellow-citizens in their own language, whatever the philosophers of all sects, and in all ages, had taught on every important question, in order, to enlarge their minds, and reform their morals ; and to employ himself the most usefully to his country, at a time when arms and a superior force had deprived him of the power of serving it in any other way¹²⁵. This he declares in his treatise called *de Finibus*, or on the chief good or ill of man ; in that upon the Nature of the Gods ; in his *Tusculan Disputations* ; and in his book on the *Academic Philosophy* : in all which he sometimes takes upon himself the part of a Stoic ; sometimes of an Epicurean ; sometimes of the Peripatetic ; for the sake of explaining with more authority the

different doctrines of each sect : and as he assumes the person of the one, to confute the other, so in his proper character of an Academic, he sometimes disputes against them all : while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes Cicero still for the perpetual speaker : and under that mistake, often quotes a sentiment for his, that was delivered by him only in order to be confuted. But in these dialogues, as in all his other works, wherever he treats any subject professedly, or gives a judgment upon it deliberately, either in his own person, or that of an Academic, there he delivers his own opinions : and where he himself does not appear in the scene, he takes care usually to inform us, to which of the characters he has assigned the patronage of his own sentiments : who was generally the principal speaker of the Dialogue ; as Crassus, in his treatise on the Orator ; Scipio, in that on the Republic ; Cato, in his piece on old age. This key will let us into his real thoughts ; and enable us to trace his genuine notions through every part of his writings ; from which I shall now proceed to give a short abstract of them.

As to Physics, or natural philosophy, he seems to have had the same notion with Socrates, that a minute and particular attention to it, and the making it the sole end and object of our inquiries, was a study rather curious than profitable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life¹²⁶. For though he was perfectly

acquainted with the various systems of all the Philosophers of any name, from the earliest Antiquity, and has explained them all in his works ; yet he did not think it worth while , either to form any distinct opinions of his own , or at least to declare them. From his account , however , of those systems we may observe , that several of the fundamental principles of the modern philosophy , which pass for the original discoveries of these later times , are the revival rather of ancient notions , maintained by some of the first Philosophers , of whom we have any notice in History ; as the motion of the earth ; the Antipodes ; a Vacuum ; and an universal gravitation , or attractive quality of matter ; which holds the world in its present form and order ¹²⁷.

But in all the great points of religion and morality , which are of more immediate relation to the happiness of man , the Being of a God ; a Providence ; the immortality of the soul ; a future state of rewards and punishments ; and the eternal difference of good and ill ; he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained , that there was one God , or supreme Being ; incorporeal , eternal , self-existent ; who created the world by his power , and sustained it by his providence. This he inferred from the consent of all nations ; the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies ; the evident marks of counsel , wisdom , and a fitness to certain ends , observable in the whole , and in every part of the visible world ; and declares that person

unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance ; when with the utmost stretch of human wisdom we cannot penetrate the depth of that wisdom which contrived it¹²⁸.

He believed also a divine Providence constantly presiding over the whole system, and extending its care to all the principal members of it, with a peculiar attention to the conduct and actions of men ; but leaving the minute and inferior parts to the course of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity ; his omniscience, omnipresence, and infinite goodness ; that could never desert or neglect what he had once produced into being : and declares that without this belief there could be no such thing as piety or religion in the world¹²⁹.

He held likewise the immortality of the soul, and its separate existence after death in a state of happiness or misery. This he inferred from that ardent thirst of immortality, which was always the most conspicuous in the best and most exalted minds ; from which the truest specimen of their nature must needs be drawn : from its unmixed and indivisible essence ; which had nothing separable or perishable in it : from its wonderful powers and faculties ; its principle of self-motion ; its memory, invention, wit, comprehension, which were all incompatible with sluggish matter¹³⁰.

The Stoics fancied that the Soul was a subtilized, fiery substance, which survived the body after death, and subsisted a long time, yet not

eternally ; but was to perish at last in the general conflagration. In which they allowed , as Cicero says , the only thing that was hard to conceive , its separate existence from the body ; yet denied what was not only easy to imagine , but a consequence of the other , its eternal duration ¹³¹. Aristotle taught , that besides the four elements of the material world , whence all other things were supposed to draw their being , there was a fifth essence or nature , peculiar to God and the Soul , which had nothing in it that was common to any of the rest ¹³². This opinion Cicero followed , and illustrated with his usual perspicuity in the following passage.

“ The origin of the human soul ,” says he , “ is
“ not to be found any where on earth ; there is
“ nothing mixed , concrete , or earthly ; nothing
“ of water , air , or fire in it. For these natures are not
“ susceptible of memory , intelligence or thought ;
“ have nothing that can retain the past , foresee the
“ future , lay hold on the present ; which faculties
“ are purely divine , and could not possibly be de-
“ rived to man , except from God. The nature of the
“ soul therefore is of a singular kind ; distinct from
“ these known and obvious natures : and whatever
“ it be that feels and tastes , that lives and moves
“ in us , it must be heavenly and divine , and
“ for that reason eternal. Nor is God indeed him-
“ self , whose existence we clearly discover , to be
“ comprehended by us in any other manner , but
“ as a free and pure mind , clear from all mortal
“ concretion ; observing and moving all things ;

“ and indued with an eternal principle of self-
“ motion : of this kind , and of the same nature
“ is the human soul ¹³³. ”

As to a future state of rewards and punishments, he considered it as a consequence of the soul's immortality ; deducible from the attributes of God, and the condition of man's life on earth ; and thought it so highly probable , that we could hardly doubt of it, he says, unless it should happen to our minds when they look into themselves, as it does to our eyes , when they look too intensely at the sun, that finding their sight dazzled, they give over looking at all ¹³⁴. In this opinion he followed Socrates and Plato , for whose judgment he professes so great a reverence, that if they had given no reasons, where yet they had given many , he should have been persuaded, he says , by their sole authority ¹³⁵. Socrates therefore, as he tells us, declared in his dying speech, “ that there were two ways appointed to
“ human souls at their departure from the body :
“ that those who had been immersed in sensual
“ pleasures and lusts, and had polluted themselves
“ with private vices or public crimes against their
“ country , took an obscure and devious road,
“ remote from the seat and assembly of the Gods ;
“ whilst those who had preserved their integrity,
“ and received little or no contagion from
“ the body , from which they had constantly
“ abstracted themselves, and in the bodies of men
“ imitated the life of the Gods , had an easy ascent
“ lying open before them to those Gods , from
“ whom they derived their being ¹³⁶. ”

From what has already been said, the reader will easily imagine what Cicero's opinion must have been concerning the Religion of his country: for a mind enlightened by the noble principles just stated, could not possibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of so absurd a worship: and the liberty, which not only he, but all the old writers take, in ridiculing the characters of their Gods, and the fictions of their infernal torments ¹³⁷, shows, that there was not a man of liberal education, who did not consider it as an engine of state, or political system, contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light, Cicero always commends it, as a wise institution, singularly adapted to the genius of Rome; and constantly inculcates an adherence to its rites, as the duty of all good Citizens ¹³⁸.

Their religion consisted of two principal branches; the observation of the Auspices, and the worship of the Gods: the first was instituted by Romulus; the second by his successor, Numa; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be observed in the different sacrifices of their several Deities: to these a third part was afterwards added, relating to divine admonitions from portents; monstrous births; the entrails of beasts in sacrifice; and the prophecies of the Sybils ¹³⁹. The College of Augurs presided over the Auspices, as the supreme interpreters of the will of Jove; and determined what signs were propitious, and what not: the other Priests were the Judges of

all the other cases relating to Religion; as well of what concerned the public worship, as that of private families ¹⁴⁰.

Now the Priests of all denominations were of the first nobility of Rome; and the Augurs especially were commonly Senators of Consular rank, who had passed through all the dignities of the Republic, and by their power over the Auspices, could put an immediate stop to all proceedings, and dissolve at once all the assemblies of the people convened for public business. The interpretation of the Sybil's Prophecies was vested in the Decemviri, or guardians of the Sybilline books; ten persons of distinguished rank chosen usually from the Priests: and the Province of interpreting prodigies, and inspecting the entrails, belonged to the Haruspices; who were the servants of the public, hired to attend the Magistrates in all their sacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their answers to the views of those who employed them, and to whose protection they owed their credit and their livelihood.

This constitution of a religion among a people naturally superstitious, necessarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the Senate, and the better sort; who by this advantage frequently checked the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the Tribunes ¹⁴¹: so that it is perpetually applauded by Cicero, as the main bulwark of the Republic; though considered all the while by men of sense, as merely political, and of human invention. The only part that

admitted any dispute concerning its origin, was Augury, or their method of divining by Auspices. The Stoics held, that God, out of his goodness to man, had imprinted on the nature of things certain marks or notices of future events; as on the entrails of beasts, the flight of birds, thunder, and other celestial signs, which, by long observation, and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each sign might be determined, and applied to the event that was signified by it. This they called artificial Divination, in distinction from the natural; which they supposed to flow from an instinct or native power, implanted in the soul, which it exerted always with the greatest efficacy, when it was the most free and disengaged from the body, as in dreams and madness¹⁴². But this notice was generally ridiculed by the other Philosophers; and of all the College of Augurs, there was but one at this time who maintained it, Appius Claudius; who was laughed at for his pains by the rest, and called the Pisidian¹⁴³: it occasioned, however, a smart controversy between him and his Colleague Marcellus, who severally published books on each side of the question; wherein Marcellus asserted the whole affair to be the contrivance of Statesmen; Appius on the contrary, that there was a real art and power of divining, subsisting in the Augural discipline, and taught by the Augural books¹⁴⁴. Appius dedicated this treatise to Cicero¹⁴⁵: who, though he preferred Marcellus's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either,

but believed, that Augury might probably be instituted at first upon a persuasion of its divinity; and when, by the improvement of arts and learning, that opinion was exploded in succeeding ages, yet the thing itself was wisely retained for the sake of its use to the Republic¹⁴⁶.

But whatever was the origin of the Religion of Rome, Cicero's Religion was undoubtedly of heavenly extraction; built, as we have seen, on the foundation of a God; a Providence; an immortality. He considered this short period of our life on earth as a state of trial, or a kind of school; in which we were to improve and prepare ourselves for that eternity of existence, which was provided for us hereafter; that we were placed therefore here by the Creator, not so much to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the heavens; on which were imprinted in legible characters all the duties of that nature, which was given to us. He observed, that this spectacle belonged to no other Animal but man; to whom, God, for that reason, had given an erect and upright form; with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground, like those of other animals, but placed on high and sublime, in a situation the most proper for this celestial contemplation; to remind him perpetually of his task, and to acquaint him with the place from which he sprung, and for which he was finally designed¹⁴⁷. He took the system of the world, or the visible works of God, to be the Promulgation of God's law, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as

we might collect his Being, nature, and attributes, so we could trace the reasons also and motives of his acting; till by observing what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do, and by the operations of the divine reason, be instructed how to perfect our own; since the perfection of man consisted in the imitation of God.

From this source he deduced the origin of all duty, or moral obligation; from the will of God, manifested in his works; or from that eternal reason, fitness, and relation of things, which is displayed in every part of the creation. This he calls the original, immutable law; the criterion of good and ill; of just and unjust; imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule by which all human laws are to be formed; which, whenever they deviate from this pattern, ought, he says, to be called any thing rather than laws; and are in effect nothing but acts of force, violence and tyranny: that to imagine the distinction of good and ill not to be founded in nature, but in custom, opinion, or human institution, is mere folly and madness; which would overthrow all society, and confound all right and justice amongst men¹⁴⁸: that this was the constant opinion of the wisest of all ages; who held, that the mind of God governing all things by eternal reason, was the principal and sovereign law; whose substitute on earth was the reason or mind of the wise: to which purpose there are many strong and beautiful passages scattered occasionally through every part of his works¹⁴⁹.

“ The true law ,” says he, “ is right reason,
“ conformable to the nature of things; constant,
“ eternal, diffused through all; which calls us to
“ duty by commanding, deters us from sin by
“ forbidding; which never loses its influence with
“ the good; nor ever preserves it with the wicked.
“ This cannot possibly be over-ruled by any
“ other law; nor abrogated in the whole or in
“ part: nor can we be absolved from it either by
“ the Senate or the people: nor are we to seek
“ any other comment or interpreter of it, but
“ itself: nor can there be one law at Rome,
“ another at Athens; one now, another hereafter;
“ but the same eternal immutable law, comprehends
“ all nations, at all times under one common
“ Master and Governor of all, God. He is the
“ inventor, propounder, enactor of this law: and
“ whosoever will not obey it, must first renounce
“ himself, and throw off the nature of man: by
“ doing which, he will suffer the greatest pu-
“ nishment though he should escape all the other
“ torments, which are commonly believed to be
“ prepared for the wicked “.”

In another place he tells us, that the study of this law was the only thing which could teach us that most important of all lessons, said to be prescribed by the Pythian Oracle, to know ourselves; that is, to know our true nature and rank in the universal system; the relation that we bear to all other things; and the purposes for which we were sent into the world. “ When a man,” says he, “ has attentively surveyed the heavens,

“ the earth , the sea , and all things in them ;
“ observed whence they sprung , and whither
“ they all tend ; when and how they are to end ;
“ what part is mortal and perishable , what divine
“ and eternal : when he has almost reached and
“ touched , as it were , the governor and ruler of
“ them all , and discovered himself not to be
“ confined to the walls of any certain place , but a
“ citizen of the world , as of one common City ;
“ in this magnificent view of things ; in this
“ enlarged prospect and knowledge of nature ;
“ good Gods , how will he learn to know himself ?
“ How will he contemn , despise , and set at nought
“ all those things , which the vulgar esteem the most
“ splendid and glorious ¹⁵¹ ? ”

These were the principles on which Cicero built his religion and morality , which shine indeed through all his writings , but were largely and explicitly illustrated by him in his treatises on Government , and on Laws ; to which he added afterwards his book of Offices , to make the scheme complete : Volumes , which , as the elder Pliny says to the Emperor Titus , ought not only to be read , but to be got by heart ¹⁵² . The first and greatest of these works is lost , excepting a few fragments , in which he had delivered his real thoughts so professedly , that in a Letter to Atticus , he calls those six books on the Republic , so many pledges given to his country , for the integrity of his life ; from which , if ever he swerved he could never have the face to look into them again ¹⁵³ . In his book of laws , he pursued the same argument ,

and deduced the origin of law from the will of the supreme God. These two pieces therefore contain his belief, and the book of Offices his practice, where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life conformable to the divine principles, which he had established in the other two; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole system¹⁵. This work was one of the last that he finished, for the use of his son, to whom he addressed it; being desirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explain to him the maxims by which he had governed it; and teach him the way of passing through the world with innocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortality of happiness: where the strictness of his morals, adapted to all the various cases and circumstances of human life, will serve, if not to instruct, yet to reproach the practice of most Christians. This was that law, which is mentioned by St. Paul, to be taught by nature, and written on the hearts of the Gentiles, to guide them through that state of ignorance and darkness, of which they themselves complained, till they should be blessed with a more perfect revelation of the divine will: and this scheme of it professed by Cicero, was certainly the most complete that the Gentile world had ever been acquainted with; the utmost effort that human nature could make towards attaining its proper end; or that supreme good for which the Creator had designed it: upon the contemplation of which sublime truths, as delivered by a Heathen, Erasmus could not help persuading himself, that

the breast from which they flowed must needs have been inspired by the Deity ¹⁵⁵.

But after all these glorious sentiments that we have been ascribing to Cicero, and collecting from his writings, some have been apt to consider them as the flourishes rather of his eloquence, than the conclusions of his reason; since in other parts of his works he seems to intimate not only a diffidence, but a disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; and especially in his Letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness ¹⁵⁶. But in all the passages brought to support this objection, where he is imagined to speak of death as the end of all things to man, as they are addressed to friends in distress by way of consolation, so some Commentators take them to mean nothing more, than that death is the end of all things here below, and without any farther sense of what is done upon earth: yet should they be understood to relate, as perhaps they may, to an utter extinction of our being; it must be observed, that he was writing in all probability to Epicureans ¹⁵⁷, and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering such topics of comfort to them from their own philosophy, as they themselves held to be the most effectual. But if this also should seem precarious, we must remember always, that Cicero was an Academic; and though he believed a future state, was fond of the opinion, and declares himself resolved never to part with it; yet he believed it as probable only, not as certain ¹⁵⁸:

and as probability implies some mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and less, so it admits also some variety in the stability of our persuasion: thus in a melancholy hour, when his spirits were depressed, the same argument would not appear to him with the same force; but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humored his present chagrin, find the readiest admission. The passages alledged were all of this kind, written in the season of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, in the height of Cæsar's power; and though we allow them to have all the force that they can possibly bear, and to express what Cicero really meant at that time, yet they prove at last nothing more than that, agreeably to the character and principles of the Academy, he sometimes doubted of what he generally believed. But after all, whatever be the sense of them, it cannot surely be thought reasonable to oppose a few scattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not considering the subject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other side of the question¹⁵⁹.

As to his political conduct, no man was ever a more determined patriot, or a warmer lover of his country, than he: his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made its true interest inseparable from his own. His general view therefore was always one and the same; to support the peace and liberty of the Republic in that form and constitution of it, which their ancestors had delivered down to them¹⁶⁰.

He

He looked upon that as the only foundation on which it could be supported ; and used to quote a verse of old Ennius , as the dictate of an Oracle , which derived all the glory of Rome from an adherence to its ancient manners and discipline.

Moribus antiquis stat Res Romana virisque ¹⁶¹.

It is one of his maxims , which he inculcates in his writings , that as the end of a Pilot is a prosperous voyage ; of a Physician , the health of his patient ; of a General , victory ; so that of a statesman is , to make his Citizens happy ; to make them firm in power , rich in wealth , splendid in glory , eminent in virtue : which he declares to be the greatest and best of all works among men ¹⁶² : and as this cannot be effected , but by the concord and harmony of the constituent members of a City ¹⁶³ ; so it was his constant aim to unite the different orders of the state into one common interest , and to inspire them with a mutual confidence in each other ; so as to balance the supremacy of the people , by the authority of the Senate ; that the one should enact , but the other advise ; the one have the last resort , the other the chief influence ¹⁶⁴. This was the old constitution of Rome , by which it had raised itself to all its grandeur ; whilst all its misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle , of distrust and dissension between these two rival powers : it was the great object therefore of his policy , to throw the ascendant

in all affairs into the hands of the Senate and the Magistrates , as far as it was consistent with the rights and liberties of the people : which will always be the general view of the wise and honest in all popular governments.

This was the principle , which he espoused from the beginning , and pursued to the end of his life : and though in some passages of his history , he may perhaps be thought to have deviated from it , yet upon an impartial review of the case , we shall find , that his end was always the same , though he had changed his measures of pursuing it ; when compelled to it by the violence of the times , and an over-ruling force , and a necessary regard to his own safety : so that he might say with great truth what an Athenian Orator once said , in excuse of his inconstancy ; that he had acted indeed on some occasions contrary to himself , but never to the republic ¹⁶ : and here also his Academic philosophy seems to have showed it's superior use in practical , as well as in speculative life ; by indulging that liberty of acting , which nature and reason require ; and when the times and things themselves are changed , allowing a change of conduct , and a recourse to new means , for the attainment of the same end.

The three sects , which at this time chiefly engrossed the philosophical part of Rome , were the Stoic , the Epicurean , and the Academic ; and the chief ornaments of each were , Cato , Atticus and Cicero ; who lived together in strict friendship , and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue : but

the different behaviour of these three, will show by fact and example, the different merit of their several principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of society.

The Stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy; who held none to be truly wise or good but themselves; placed perfect happiness in virtue, though stript of every other good; affirmed all sins to be equal; all deviations from right equally wicked; to kill a dunghill-cock without reason, the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wise man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favor, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; never change his mind ¹⁶⁶. With these principles Cato entered into public life; and acted in it, as Cicero says, as if he had lived in the polity of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus ¹⁶⁷. He made no distinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakness of the Republic, and the power of those who oppressed it: it was his maxim, to combat all power, not built upon the laws; or to defy it at least, if he could not control it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and whatever obstructions he met with, resolved still to rush on; and either to surmount them, or perish in the attempt; taking it for a baseness and confession of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmost libertinism, when the public discipline was lost, and the government itself tottering, he struggled with the same zeal against all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a superior force;

whilst the rigor of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and by provoking the power, that he could not subdue, helped to hasten that ruin, which he was striving to avert¹⁶⁸: so that after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses, finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther, instead of taking a new one, he was driven by his Philosophy to put an end to his life.

But as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, so the Epicureans depressed it too low; as those raised it to the Heroic, these debased it to the brutal state: they held pleasure to be the chief good of man; death the extinction of his being; and placed their happiness consequently in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life: esteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleasure; and helped to ensure the possession of it, by preserving health and conciliating friends. Their wise man therefore had no other duty, but to provide for his own ease; to decline all struggles; to retire from public affairs; and to imitate the life of their Gods: by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose, in the midst of rural shades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme, that Atticus followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society; great parts, learning, judgment, candor, benevolence, generosity; the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics with Cicero¹⁶⁹, whom he was always advising and urging to act, yet determined

never to act himself; or never at least so far, as to disturb his ease, or endanger his safety. For though he was so strictly united with Cicero, and valued him above all men, yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction, and a friendship even with his mortal enemies, Clodius and Antony; that he might secure against all events the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus two excellent men, by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy, were made useless in a manner to their country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and exposing himself to dangers, without the prospect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do any, resolving never to act at all.

Cicero chose the middle way between the obstinacy of Cato, and the indolence of Atticus: he preferred always the readiest road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that seemed likely to bring him to the same end; and in politics, as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himself with the probable. He oft compares the Statesman to the Pilot; whose art consists, in managing every turn of the winds, and applying even the most perverse to the progress of his voyage; so as by changing his course, and enlarging his circuit of sailing, to arrive with safety, though later, at his destined port ¹⁷⁰. He mentions likewise an observation, which long experience had confirmed to him, that none of the popular and ambitious, who aspired

to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the Republic, ever chose to obtain their ends from the people, till they had first been repulsed by the Senate ¹⁷¹. This was verified by all their civil dissensions, from the Gracchi, down to Cæsar: so that when he saw men of this spirit at the head of the government; who, by the splendor of their lives and actions, had acquired an ascendant over the populace; it was his constant advice to the Senate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirst of power by voluntary grants of it, as the best way to moderate their ambition, and reclaim them from desperate counsels. He declared contention to be no longer prudent, than while it either did service or at least no hurt; but when faction was grown too strong to be withstood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but to extract some good out of the ill, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if possible, to the interests of the state ¹⁷². This was what he advised, and what he practised: and it will account in a great measure for those parts of his conduct, which are the most liable to exception, on the account of that complaisance, which he is supposed to have paid at different times to the several usurpers of illegal power.

He made a just distinction, between hearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn ¹⁷³; and submitted therefore, yet never consented to those usurpations; and when he was

forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance, that he expresses very keenly in his letters to his friends. But whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to pursue his principles, and act without control, as in his Consulship, in his Province, and after Cæsar's death; the only periods of his life, in which he was truly Master of himself; there we see him shining out in his genuine character, of an excellent Citizen; a great Magistrate; a glorious Patriot: there we see the man, who could declare of himself with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the best witness of his conscience, that he had always done the greatest services to his country, when it was in his power; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it, but what was divine¹⁷⁴. If we must needs compare him therefore with Cato, as some writers affect to do; it is certain, that if Cato's virtue seem more splendid in theory, Cicero's will be found superior in practice: the one was romantic, the other rational; the one drawn from the refinements of the schools, the other from nature and social life; the one always unsuccessful, often hurtful; the other always beneficial, often salutary to the Republic.

To conclude; Cicero's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely; but was the proper end of such a life; which must have been rendered less glorious, if it had owed its preservation to Antony. It was therefore what he not only expected, but in the circumstances, to which he

was reduced, what he seems even to have wished¹⁷⁵. For he, who before had been timid in dangers, and desponding in distress, yet from the time of Cæsar's death, roused by the desperate state of the Republic¹⁷⁶, assumed the fortitude of a Hero: discarded all fear; despised all danger; and when he could not free his country from a Tyranny, provoked the Tyrants to take that life, which he no longer cared to preserve. Thus like a great Actor on the stage, he reserved himself as it were for the last act; and after he had played his part with dignity, resolved to finish it with glory.

The character of his son Marcus has been delivered down to us in a very disadvantageous light: for he is represented generally, both by the Ancients and Moderns, as stupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy¹⁷⁷: yet when we come to inquire into the real state of the fact, we shall find but little ground for so scandalous a tradition.

In his early youth, while he continued under the eye and discipline of his Father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius; was modest, tractable, dutiful; diligent in his studies, and expert in his exercises; so that in the Pharsalic war, at the age of seventeen, he acquired a great reputation in Pompey's camp, by his dexterity of riding, throwing the javelin, and all the other accomplishments of a young soldier¹⁷⁸. Not long after Pompey's death he was sent to Athens, to spend a few years in the study of

Philosophy and polite letters, under Cratippus, the most celebrated Philosopher of that time; for whom Cicero afterwards procured the freedom of Rome¹⁷⁹. Here indeed, upon his first sally into the world, he was guilty of some irregularity of conduct, and extravagance of expense, that made his Father uneasy; into which he was supposed to have been drawn by Gorgias, his Master of Rhetoric; a lover of wine and pleasure; whom Cicero for that reason expostulated with severely by letter, and discharged from his attendance upon him. But the young man was soon made sensible of his folly, and recalled to his duty by the remonstrances of his friends, and particularly of Atticus: so that his Father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his Allowance, which seems to have been about seven hundred pounds per annum¹⁸⁰.

From this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends, who had occasion to visit Athens, are constant and uniform in their praises of him; and in terms so particular and explicit, that they could not proceed from mere compliment, or a desire of flattering Cicero as he often signifies with pleasure to Atticus¹⁸¹. Thus Trebonius, as he was passing into Asia, writes to him from Athens; “ I came hither on the twenty-first of May, where
“ I saw your son; and saw him, to my great joy,
“ pursuing every thing that was good, and in
“ the highest credit for the modesty of his behavi-
“ our — do not imagine, my Cicero, that I say
“ this to flatter you: for nothing can be more

“ beloved than your young man is by all who
“ are at Athens; nor more studious of all those
“ arts which you yourself delight in; that is, the
“ best. I congratulate with you therefore very
“ heartily, which I can do with great truth, and
“ not less also with myself; that he, whom we
“ were obliged to love, of what temper soever he
“ had happened to be, proves to be such an one
“ as we should chuse to love¹⁸². ”

But the Son's own Letters gave the most solid comfort to his Father; as they were written not only with great duty and affection, but with such elegance also and propriety, that they were fit, he says, to be read to a learned audience; and though in other points he might possibly be deceived, yet in these he saw a real improvement both of his taste and learning¹⁸³. None of these letters are now extant, nor any other monument of young Cicero's talents, but two Letters to Tiro; one of which I have chosen to transcribe, as the surest specimen both of his parts and temper; written, as we may imagine, to one of Tiro's rank, without any particular care, and in the utmost familiarity, from his residence at Athens, when he was about nineteen years old.

Cicero the Son to Tiro.

“ While I was expecting every day with im-
“ patience your messengers from Rome, they
“ came at last on the forty-sixth day after they
“ left you. Their arrival was extremely agree-
“ able to me: For my Father's most indulgent

“ and affectionate letter gave me an exceeding
“ joy ; which was still highly increased by the
“ receipt also of yours : so that instead of being
“ sorry for my late omission of writing, I was
“ rather pleased that my silence had afforded me
“ so particular a proof of your humanity. It is
“ a great pleasure therefore to me , that you
“ accepted my excuse so readily. I do not
“ doubt, my dearest Tiro, but that the reports
“ which are now brought of me give you a real
“ satisfaction. It shall by my care and endeavour
“ that this growing fame of me shall every day
“ come more and more confirmed to you : and
“ since you promise to be the Trumpeter of my
“ praises, you may venture to do it with assur-
“ ance : for the past errors of my youth have
“ mortified me so sensibly , that my mind does
“ not only abhor the facts themselves , but my
“ ears cannot even endure the mention of them.
“ I am perfectly assured, that in all this regret
“ and solicitude you have born no small share
“ with me : nor is it to be wondered at ; for
“ though you wish me all success for my sake,
“ you are engaged also to do it for your own :
“ since it was always my resolution to make you
“ the partner of every good that may befall me.
“ As I have before therefore been the occasion
“ of sorrow to you, so it shall now be my busi-
“ ness to double your joy on my account. You
“ must know that I live in the utmost intimacy
“ with Cratippus ; and like a Son , rather than a
“ Scholar : for I not only hear his lectures with

“ pleasure, but am infinitely delighted with his
“ conversation. I spend whole days with him,
“ and frequently also a part of the night: for I
“ prevail with him, as often as I can, to sup
“ with me; and in our familiar chat, as we sit at
“ table, the night steals upon us without thinking
“ of it, whilst he lays aside the severity of his
“ philosophy, and jokes amongst us with all the
“ good humor imaginable. Contrive therefore
“ to come to us as soon as possible, and see this
“ agreeable and excellent man. For what need
“ I tell you of Bruttius? whom I never part with
“ out of my sight. His life is regular and exem-
“ plary, and his company the most entertaining;
“ he has the art of introducing questions of lite-
“ rature into conversation, and seasoning philo-
“ sophy with mirth. I have hired a lodging for
“ him in the next house to me; and support his
“ poverty, as well as I am able, out of my nar-
“ row income. I have begun also to declaim in
“ Greek under Cassius; but chuse to exercise
“ myself in Latin with Bruttius. I live likewise
“ in great familiarity, and the perpetual company
“ of those whom Cratippus brought with him
“ from Mitylene; who are men of learning, and
“ highly esteemed by him. Epicrates also, the
“ leading man at Athens, and Leonidas, spend
“ much of their time with me; and many others
“ of the same rank. This is the manner of my
“ life at present. As to what you write about
“ Gorgias, he was useful to me indeed in my
“ daily exercise of declaiming; but I gave up all

“ considerations for the sake of obeying my
“ father; who wrote peremptorily that I should
“ dismiss him instantly. I complied therefore
“ without hesitation; lest by showing any reluct-
“ ance, I might raise in him some suspicion of
“ me. Besides, I reflected, that it would seem
“ indecent in me to deliberate upon the judgment
“ of a father. Your zeal, however, and advice
“ upon it are very agreeable to me. I admit your
“ excuse of want of leisure, for I know how
“ much your time is commonly taken up. I am
“ mightily pleased with your purchase of a farm,
“ and heartily wish you joy of it. Do not won-
“ der at my congratulating you in this part of
“ my letter, for it was the same part of yours,
“ in which you informed me of the purchase.
“ You have now a place, where you may drop
“ all the forms of the City, and are become a
“ Roman of the old Rustic stamp. I please
“ myself with placing your figure before my eyes,
“ and imagining that I see you bartering for your
“ country-wares, or consulting with your bailiff,
“ or carrying off from your table, in a corner of
“ your vest, the seeds of your fruits and melons
“ for your garden. But to be serious; I am as
“ much concerned as you are, that I happened
“ to be out of the way, and could not assist you
“ on that occasion: but depend upon it, my Tiro,
“ I will make you easy one time or other, if
“ fortune does not disappoint me: especially since
“ I know that you have bought this farm for
“ the common use of us both. I am obliged to

“ you for your care in executing my orders; but
“ beg of you, that a Librarian may be sent to
“ me in all haste, and especially a Greek one:
“ for I waste much of my time in transcribing
“ the lectures and books that are of use to me.
“ Above all things, take care of your health,
“ that we may live to hold many learned con-
“ ferences together. I recommend Antherus to
“ you. Adieu ¹⁸⁴. ”

This was the situation of young Cicero when Brutus arrived at Athens: who, as it has been already said, was exceedingly taken with his virtue and good principles; of which he sent a high encomium to his Father; and intrusted him, though but twenty years old, with a principal command in his army; in which he acquitted himself with a singular reputation both of courage and conduct; and in several expeditions and encounters with the enemy, where he commanded in chief, always came off victorious. After the battle of Philippi, and the death of Brutus, he escaped to Pompey; who had taken possession of Sicily with a great army, and fleet superior to any in the Empire. This was the last refuge of the poor Republicans: where young Cicero was received again with particular honors; and continued fighting still in the defence of his country's liberty; till Pompey, by a treaty of peace with the Triumvirate, obtained, as one of the conditions of it, the pardon and restoration of all the proscribed and exiled Romans, who were then in arms with him ¹⁸⁵.

Cicero therefore took his leave of Pompey, and returned to Rome with the rest of his party: where he lived for some time in the condition of a private Nobleman; remote from affairs and the Court of the Emperor; partly through the envy of the times, averse to his name and principles; partly through choice, and his old zeal for the Republican cause, which he retained still to the last. In this uneasy state, where he had nothing to rouse his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not strange that he sunk into a life of indolence and pleasure, and the intemperate love of wine; which began to be the fashionable vice of this age, from the example of Antony, who had lately published a volume of the triumphs of his drinking. Young Cicero is said to have practised it likewise to great excess; and to have been famous for the quantity that he used to swallow at a draught: as if he had resolved, says Pliny, to deprive Antony, the murderer of his Father, of the glory of being the first drunkard of the Empire ¹⁸⁶.

Augustus, however, paid him the compliment in the mean while, to make him a Priest or Augur ¹⁸⁷, as well as one of those Magistrates who presided over the coinage of the public money: in regard to which there is a medal still extant, with the name of Cicero on the one side, and Appius Claudius on the other; who was one of his Colleagues in this office ¹⁸⁸. But upon the last breach with Antony, Augustus no sooner became the sole Master of Rome than he took him for his

partner in the Consulship: so that his letters which brought the news of the victory at Actium, and conquest of Egypt, were addressed to Cicero the Consul; who had the pleasure of publishing them to the Senate and people; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered all the statues and monuments of Antony to be demolished, and that no person of his Family should ever after bear the name of Marcus. By paying this honor to the Son, Augustus made some atonement for his treachery to the Father: and by giving the Family this opportunity of revenging his death upon Antony, fixed the blame of it also there; while the people looked upon it as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of Antony's name and fortunes should, by a strange revolution of affairs, be reserved for the triumph of young Cicero¹⁸⁹. Some honors are mentioned likewise to have been decreed by Cicero, in this Consulship, to his partner Augustus; particularly an Obsidional Crown; which though made only of the common grass, that happened to be found upon the scene of action, yet in the times of ancient discipline, was esteemed the noblest reward of military glory, and never bestowed but for the deliverance of an army, when reduced to the last distress¹⁹⁰. This Crown therefore had not been given above eight times from the foundation of Rome: but with the oppression of its liberty, all its honors were servilely prostituted to the will of the reigning Monarch.

Soon after Cicero's Consulship, he was made
Proconsul

Proconsul of Asia; or, as Appian says, of Syria; one of the most considerable Provinces of the Empire: from which time we find no farther mention of him in history. He died probably soon after, before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the reproach of his intemperance, and distinguishing himself in the counsels of the state: but from the honors already mentioned, it is evident that his life, though blemished by some scandal, yet was not void of dignity: and amidst all the vices with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained his Father's wit and politeness¹⁹¹.

There are two stories related of him, which show, that his natural courage and high spirit were far from being subdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes: for being in company with some friends, where he had drunk very hard, in the heat of wine and passion, he threw a cup at the head of Agrippa; who, next to Augustus, bore the chief sway in Rome¹⁹². He was provoked to it probably by some dispute in politics, or insult on the late champions, and vanquished cause of the Republic. At another time, during his government of Asia, one Cestius, who was afterwards Prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his Father, having the assurance to come one day to his table, Cicero, after he had inquired his name, and understood that it was the man who used to insult the memory of his Father, and declare that he knew nothing of

polite letters, ordered him to be taken away and publicly whipt¹⁹³.

His nature seems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory: to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age, that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and studies of learning, had served with much honor to himself, in three successive wars, the most considerable in all history; of Pharsalia, Philippi, and Sicily. If his life therefore did not correspond with the splendor of his Father's, it seems chargeable to his misfortune, rather than his fault; and to the miserable state of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his Father's honors, or the imitation of his virtues: but if he had lived in better times, and a free Republic, though he would not have been so eminent a Scholar, or Orator, or Statesman as his Father, yet he would have excelled him probably in that character, which conferred a more substantial power and dazzling glory, the fame of a brave and accomplished General.

The Characters of Q. Cicero the brother, of his Son Quintus, and of Atticus, have been so frequently touched in the course of this History, that there is but little occasion to add any thing more about them. The two first, as we have already said, upon the news of their being proscribed, took their leave of Cicero in his flight towards the sea, and returned to

Rome; in order to furnish themselves with money and other necessaries for a voyage to Macedonia. They hoped to have executed this, before the proscription could take effect, or to lie concealed at least for a short time in the City, without the danger of a discovery: but the diligence of Antony's emissaries, and the particular instructions, that they had received to make sure of the Ciceros, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The son was found out the first; who is said to have been more solicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own safety: upon his refusal to discover, where his Father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the soldiers; till the Father, to rescue his son from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily surrendered himself; making no other request to his executioners, than that they would dispatch him the first of the two. The son urged the same petition, to spare him the misery of being the spectator of his Father's murder; so that the assassins, to satisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the same time ¹⁹⁴.

As to Atticus, the difficulty of the times, in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet, that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has already been observed of him, that he was a perfect Master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to secure that chief good of an Epicurean life, his private ease and safety. One would

naturally imagine, that his union with Cicero and Brutus, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of course in the ruin of the proscription: he himself was afraid of it, and kept himself concealed for some time: but without any great reason; for, as if he had foreseen such an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to Antony; and, in the time even of his disgrace, when he was driven out of Italy, and his affairs thought desperate, did many eminent services to his friends at Rome: and above all, to his wife and children; whom he assisted, not only with his advice, but with his money also, on all occasions of their distress: so that when Antony came to Rome, in the midst of the massacre, he made it his first care to find out Atticus, and no sooner learnt where he was, than he wrote him word with his own hand, to lay aside all fears, and come to him immediately; and assigned him a guard, to protect him from any insult or violence of the soldiers¹⁹.

It must be imputed likewise to the same principle of Atticus's caution, and a regard to his safety, that after so long and intimate a correspondence of letters with Cicero, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are sixteen books of Cicero's still remaining, yet not a single Letter of Atticus's was ever published: which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from Tiro, after Cicero's death, and suppressed them with a

singular care ; left in that revolution of affairs , and extinction of the public liberty , they should ever be produced to his hurt , or the diminution of his credit with their new Masters.

But his interest with the reigning powers was soon established on a more solid foundation , than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with M. Agrippa ; which was first proposed and brought about by Antony. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of Augustus, whose Minister and Favorite Agrippa was ; and to whom he himself became afterwards nearly allied , by the marriage of his Granddaughter with his successor Tiberius ¹⁹⁶. Thus he added dignity to his quiet ; and lived to a good old age , in the very manner in which he wished ; happy and honorable ; and remote from all trouble, or the apprehension of danger. But that he still lives , in the fame and memory of ages , is entirely owing to the circumstance , of his having been Cicero's friend : for this after all , was the chief honor of his life : and as Seneca truly observed , it was the Epistles of Cicero , which preserved him from oblivion ; and neither his son Agrippa , nor Grandson Tiberius , nor great Grandson Drusus , would have been of any service to him , if Cicero's name , by drawing Atticus's along with it , had not given him an immortality ¹⁹⁷.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

Middleton, Conyers, 1683-1750

The history of the life of M. Tullius Cicero

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